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ABSTRACT

This document features writings and curriculum projects by teachers who traveled to Mexico and Central America in the summer of 1991 as members of a Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar. The following items are among the 20 included: Curriculum Project: "'Escritoras Mexicanas Contemporaneas': A Survey of Mexican Women Fiction Writers" (Laura J. Beard); "Archaeology in Mexico as an Image-Enhancer for Chicano Students" (Rene M. Flores); Curriculum Project: "Economic and Social Issues in the XX Century Narrative of Mexico and Central America" (Margarita M. Lezcano); "Speculating about Free Market Economics and Artisan Production in Mexico and Guatemala" (Patricia L. Wasielewski); and "Government Buildings as Symbols of National Unity: Comparison of the Historic Capitols of the United States and Five Latin American Nations" (Morton D. Winsberg). (DB)

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"DEVELOPMENT IN MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA"
Summer 1991

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FULBRIGHT-HAYS SUMMER SEMINAR 1991

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Thomas Amnotte
Eastern Maine Technical College

TOPIC: Free market "Neoliberalism" policies and proposals to spur economic development and to end poverty in Latin America.

BACKGROUND: Read attached short overview and summary from Amy L. Sherman's article "Other Voices: Economic Alternatives for Latin America", published by the Institute for Religion and Democracy, Washington, D.C., 1991.

QUESTIONS:

1. Identify what you believe a Neoliberal would support in terms of "government policies that facilitate the working of the market and encourage private initiative." PLEASE BE SPECIFIC!

2. In attempting to make imported goods more affordable, if a Central American government followed a policy of trying to maintain an "overvalued" currency, how would this hurt small, poor, rural farmers?

3. In reading about Neoliberal positions on foreign aid and investment, what argument FOR foreign aid could you propose to counter Neoliberal arguments against aid?

TOPIC:
The role of a central bank in stabilizing an economic system.

BACKGROUND INFO:
Given your knowledge of the historical reasons for the creation of the U. S. Federal Reserve System in 1913; and given that the Mexican government had borrowed heavily from the West in the late 1970's and early 1980's to finance economic development projects (planning to pay back the loans with rising revenues coming from rising oil prices benefiting the state-owned PEMEC oil company); and given that Mexico's economic system is based on mostly cash payments for debts (whether for payroll, car loan payments, or rent and mortgage payments), not on payments by transfer of checking account funds, such accounts being subject to demand deposit regulations overseen by a Federal Reserve-type central bank.

QUESTIONS:

1. When oil prices collapsed in the early-mid-1980's, what impacts do you predict occurred to the Mexican economy?

2. What steps do you predict that Mexican monetary officials would have taken to counteract the effects of the oil price collapse?

3. Assume: 60% of all workers worked for the Mexican government (due to widespread nationalization of major industries) and got paid by the government in 1985. If the government had its revenues reduced by falling oil prices and didn't want to lay off millions of workers (fear of unrest and revolution), what monetary steps would the government probably take? What would be the negative outcomes of these government policies?

4. In the 1980's, what avenues were open to the Mexican government control when it wanted to control M1?

5. How would you advise the Mexican government to change its current system so that controlling M1 and inflation would be more practical?

6. IF the Mexican government had been able to control M1 after oil prices collapsed, what economic problems would it have STILL faced, even if inflation was held in check?

TOPIC:
Free Trade impacts on developing nations

BACKGROUND INFO:
Given that free trade can be shown to push production possibilities frontiers rightward, thus bettering the average standard of living in both countries; given that process if increasing free trade activities also increases uncertainty, change, and risk; given that free trade creates explosive downsides and generates large groups of "losers" (the uneducated, the culturally undesirable, those who are discriminated against in the new industrialized urban economy).

QUESTIONS:

1. What social and economic problems could you list that might be predicted by opening up a country's formerly closed borders to free trade? Construct a list of "losers" and explain why they would be on the list.

2. What actions and policies might a government take to mitigate some of these problems?

TOPIC:
Markets as tools of rational resource allocation

BACKGROUND:
Many services to residents of Mexico City and other Mexican towns are sold by a "flat rate fee structure". A Flat Rate essentially means that the user of the service pays one set fee (usually monthly) for the service, regardless of how much of the service is used. For instance, electricity would be purchased by a residential consumer in Mexico City for a flat monthly rate of , say, $5 U.S.; or water might be purchased by each residential user for a monthly flat rate of $4 U.S. Metering of usage is fairly unknown in Mexico City, partly because of the cost of installing meters (as well as the simple unavailability of meters due to meters needing to be imported - yet Mexico has had highly restrictive import policies) and partly because the socialist governments since the Mexican Revolution have looked on services such as electricity and water as every citizens' right, so such services "must" be provided by the government at a minimal cost to the consumer.

QUESTIONS:
1. Describe what you might predict would be typical behaviors of the users of water and electricity in Mexico City. How might these behaviors differ from the behaviors of users of water & electricity who live in Bangor, Maine?

2. If electricity and water were priced on a per unit basis in a competitive market, what would you predict would happen to users' behavior and usage of these two services?

3. What problems would you anticipate would be created by selling any given resource at a flat rate not based on the quantity consumed?

Neoliberals on the Proper Role of the State

Neoliberals are not economic libertarians. They believe the government is destined to be a significant actor in the domestic economy, even if it confines itself to a restricted role. Generally, neoliberals support government policies that facilitate the working of the market and encourage private initiative. But they believe that Latin American governments are excessively involved in the economy. They trace the Latin "statist mindset" to the legacy of paternalistic and authoritarian Indian social structures; the colonial mercantilist heritage; and the absolutist strain in various political ideologies with some following in the region (radical liberalism, Marxism-Leninism, populism).

Moreover, neoliberals observe that Latin American "political demography" contributes to and entrenches statist ideology. The region has been marked by the growing political influence of the middle class and labor.[11] These constituencies support "populist" policies such as public sector spending, government subsidies, and overvalued exchange rates (which make imports cheaper) because *they* benefit from them, even if the government's rhetoric in implementing them suggests they are meant to aid the poor. Significantly, Guy Pfeffermann of the World Bank has demonstrated that the populist programs often benefit the middle class *at the expense of the poor*, for example, by shrinking employment in the export sector and impoverishing farmers.[12]

In terms of *fiscal* policy, neoliberals support a balanced government budget and advocate reduced government spending. Statists had argued that generous public spending was necessary to stimulate economic growth and to provide social services for citizens. But neoliberal critic Manuel Ayau of Guatemala argues that such a policy of good intentions has led to ruinous results. Ayau asserts that Latin American governments have often accepted responsibility for a prosperity they cannot produce. "In trying to make good," he comments, the state "only succeeds in creating 'The System.'"[13] "The System" is Ayau's term for describing the typical Latin American situation of immense government intrusion in the economy manifested in bureaucratization, centralization, regulation, and corruption. Neoliberals like Ayau argue that the state has overstretched itself, particularly by becoming directly engaged in productive enterprises. They complain that these "para-statals" are notoriously inefficient, corrupt, and expensive. Their principal weakness, Ayau explains, is that their business decisions are based more on political concerns than on economic ones; for example, wasteful featherbedding may be overlooked because of the government's desire to avoid offending its labor support. Further, managers of para-statals may be appointed on grounds of political loyalty rather than business expertise. And their lack of competence may also be joined with a lack of motivation, since they manage an investment "which is not theirs to begin with and which has not cost them anything."[14]

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[11] Cf. Victor Alba, "The Latin American Style and the New Social Forces," in *Latin American Issues: Essays and Comments*, p. 49; and Howard Wiarda, *Latin America at the Crossroads* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1987), p. 66.

[12] Guy Pfeffermann, "Public Expenditure in Latin America," *World Bank Discussion Paper #5* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1987), pp. 14-15.

[13] Manual F. Ayau, "What 'The System' Needs is a Coup de Etat," *Commentary* Vol. X, May 1989 (Universidad Francisco Marroquin), pp. 4-5.

Neoliberals support orthodox *monetary* policy and express deep concerns about inflation. Unlike many in the statist school, who argue that inflation is the result of basic structural factors in society, the neoliberal "monetarists" assert that inflation is due primarily to high rates of monetary growth. (i.e., increased money in circulation.) Neoliberal scholar Julio Cole blames government policy for Latin American inflation, asserting that the rate of monetary growth "is due mainly to factors that are, or can be, controllable by the monetary authorities," for example, reserve requirements.[15] Cole disagrees with the contention that inflation is due to increases in import prices, maintaining that these "have had no statistically detectable effect on Latin American inflation, which has been due exclusively to internal factors."[16] Cole also challenges the statists' argument that increasing food prices encourage inflation. He shows that the empirical record is, at best, unclear on such a relationship. For example, he reports that in the 1970s the three countries with a consistently upward trend in real food prices (Costa Rica, Equador, and Venezuela) were not high inflation countries. Uruguay experienced very high inflation but *declining* food prices. And in the 1960s, out of the top five inflation countries, only one (Chile) showed increases in food prices.[17]

Neoliberals are also critical of state intervention in pricing. Vladimir Chelminski of Venezuela, for instance, observes that governments may impose price controls in an effort to fight inflation and keep prices managable for citizens. But price controls, this neoliberal argues, actually exacerbate inflation by discouraging production (because producers make less money) and encouraging consumption (because goods are artificially cheap).[18] Moreover, price controls are usually set (presumably to protect the citizens' welfare) on the most essential products. But this results in new investments being diverted from essential industries to unregulated, nonessential ones viewed as more profitable.

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[14] Vladimir Chelminski, "Economic Failure in Latin America and Prosperity in Asia," *Journal of Economic Growth* Vol. 1, No.2 (Second Quarter, 1986), p. 15.

[15] Cole, *Latin American Inflation*, p 2.

[16] Ibid., p. 36.

[17] Ibid., pp. 31-33.

[18] Chelminski, "Economic Failure in Latin America...," p. 13.

The Mercantilist economy, De Soto argues, serves the interests of the public and private bureaucracies more than the interests of consumers.

Neoliberal criticisms on this issue are supported by empirical evidence. A 1983 study by Ramgopal Agarwala of the World Bank showed that state intervention in pricing has a negative affect on economic growth. The study assessed the links between price distortions (i.e., the government imposing artificial, non-market prices) and growth in 31 LDCs during the period 1970 through 1980. Its results indicated that the ten countries with the highest levels of price distortion experienced per capita growth of two percent less than the average growth rates of the countries in the sample. Conversely, the ten countries with the least price distortion had per capita growth rates of two percent higher than the sample's average.[19]

Neoliberals also assert that allegedly "pro-labor" state intervention -- such as efforts to provide job security and a "fair wage" -- can actually harm workers. Chelminiski reports that governments may pass legislation making it difficult and expensive for employers to fire their workers and/or may impose minimum wages. But the effect in both cases is to exacerbate unemployment. New workers have difficulty entering the labor market, and investors may be discouraged by labor security laws from risking capital to start a new business (and thus provide new jobs). For, neoliberals ask, who will risk his capital to create new jobs if a business failure means not only the loss of one's initial investment but also hefty additional penalties to compensate fired employees?[20]

Perhaps the neoliberals' greatest concern is that the state's multiple interventions in the economy result in the creation of an immense bureaucracy which, among other things, constitutes a huge public expense. Often governments must resort to deficit spending or increased printing of money to keep its employees on the payroll. But, as Chelminski writes, "the greatest damage wrought by these bureaucracies is the amount of red tape they produce and the corruption they engender."[21]

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[19] Reported in Clive Crook, "The Third World," *The Economist* (September 23, 1989), p. 25.

[20] Chelminski, p. 13.

Hernando de Soto's widely acclaimed work, *The Other Path,*[22] continues the neoliberals' devastating critique of bureaucracy in Latin America. De Soto argues that the particular type of statism practiced in Latin America is mercantilism -- that economic system whereby the state works in close collaboration with a small group of privileged businessmen while the majority are shut out of legal economic pursuits. The mercantilist economy, De Soto argues, serves the interests of the public and private bureaucracies more than the interests of consumers. De Soto writes that in a market economy, the entrepreneur's crucial attributes are "astuteness and sociability," but in the mercantilist economy, the entrepreneur's chief worry is government: how to comply with regulations, how to gain good political connections to win favors, and so forth.

De Soto argues that state intervention and excessive regulation impose various costs on society. First, there are "costs of formality" (i.e., those associated with beginning and maintaining a legal enterprise). These include such things as excessive taxation, labor time wasted in complying with bureaucratic procedures (De Soto's study discovered that companies devote 40 percent of all their administrative employees' total work hours to this)[23], and money spent in bribes and formal fees. Second, because entrance to legal enterprise is prohibitively expensive and time-consuming (De Soto's researchers discovered that it took five full time employees 289 days to fulfill prescribed regulations to legally incorporate a small clothing industry), many would-be businessmen give up and join the informal, "underground" economy. This too has a price. The "costs of informality" include such things as lack of security of property (and thus disincentive for investment), inability to advertise, the need to keep employment levels low (to avoid detection by the authorities), lack of legal redress of grievance if contracts are abridged, and lack of access to credit.[24]

In sum, neoliberals are skeptical of the economic foresight of the state and place greater trust and confidence in the wisdom of private entrepreneurs. Consequently, they advocate government policies that facilitate the working of the market -- such as stable monetary and fiscal policies, strong administration of the rule of law, protection of security of property and enforcement of contract -- rather than those that interfere with its diffusion of economic decision-making power. As Manuel Ayau explains, "economic malfunction is inevitable when the isolated opinions and political motivations of a few officials are submitted for the knowledge and judgment of the market."[25]

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[21] Ibid., pp. 13-15.

[22] Hernando De Soto, *The Other Path* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989).

[23] De Soto, *The Other Path*, p. 148.

[24] Ibid., pp. 153-172.

Neoliberals on Trade Orientation

While the statist school encouraged Latin American nations to pursue economic self-sufficiency, the neoliberal school proclaims the benefits of free trade. Neoliberals dismiss the idea that trade with the developed world is exploitive. Their strongest intellectual weapon in this vein is the example of the East Asian newly industrializing countries (NICs) -- South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Chelminski writes:

> Foreign trade plays a vital role in the economies of the Asian nations and usually represents a relatively large proportion of these countries' economic output. In order to promote trade, customs duties are minimal or non-existent. The bulk of their trade is with industrialized countries [demonstrating that they] have not impoverished themselves by trading with other rich nations.[26]

For neoliberals, the East Asian miracle is a confirmation of their arguments connecting free markets and economic prosperity. They urge Latin governments to heed the East Asian example and abandon their protectionist policies. And several countries are listening: for instance, Mexican foreign minister Fernando Solana reports:

> For more than five years now, we have been shifting towards an export strategy and opening the economy to foreign capital...the success of the Pacific Basin countries has influenced our strategy.[27]

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[25] Manuel Ayau, "What 'The System' Needs is a Coup de Etat," p. 6.

[26] Chelminski, p. 18.

[27] Quoted in "Mexico's Move to the Market," *New Perspectives Quarterly* (Fall 1989), p. 42.

LESSONS IN DEVELOPMENT

by

Alice Bartholomew

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INTRODUCTION

Today's world is a global community. What happens in one country has far-reaching effects. Even countries which are economically healthy and politically stable are not immune. One has only to think of the Third World debt crisis to realize how tied the economies of the developed, or First World, are to the less-developed.

There has always been poverty. Some nations have always been richer than others. But it is one thing to eke out a subsistence living when everyone around you is doing the same and quite another to be doing so when the marvels of modern technology are bombarding you with visions of everything you don't have. The gap between rich and poor, by most counts is widening. The poor are getting poorer. Twenty-five percent of the world's population is consuming 75% of its resources. It is not a situation which presages peace and stability, leaving aside the question of democratic beliefs.

As with anything, the more knowledgeable we are, the better our chances of solving problems that arise. This unit has been prepared in the hopes that teaching today's young people to be aware of the inequities, of people's feelings and perceptions of them, of possible historical reasons and beliefs behind them, as well as current philosophies and practices that tend to perpetuate them may give our future the tools to create better solutions than we have for the equitable distribution of the world's wealth and the creation of global peace.

Lesson 1

Objectives:

*Students will develop criteria for judging the development of a country.

*Students will define development.

*Students will develop small group skills.

Materials: List of 18 countries of varying development, Far East Economic Review article on UN Development Program report, World Bank Basic Indicators, OECD classification system, world map, The Three Objectives of Development handout.

Procedure:

1. Distribute list to students, working in groups of two-four and ask them to locate the countries on the map and to put them in descending order from most to least developed.

2. Teacher requests students to list the criteria they used to make their decisions and to note the countries they had most difficulty placing and the reasons why.

3. Students present their country rating list to the class justifying their decisions. Lists and criteria are compared and consensus is reached on which criteria are the most valid. The class together rates the countries based on these criteria.

4. Class list is then compared to the World Bank and OECD lists and student criteria are compared to basic indicators and UNDP criteria and relative merits are discussed. Students may or may not wish to alter their criteria.

5. Class discusses what they mean by development based on their criteria. They compare their definition with "The Three Objectives of Development."

List of Countries

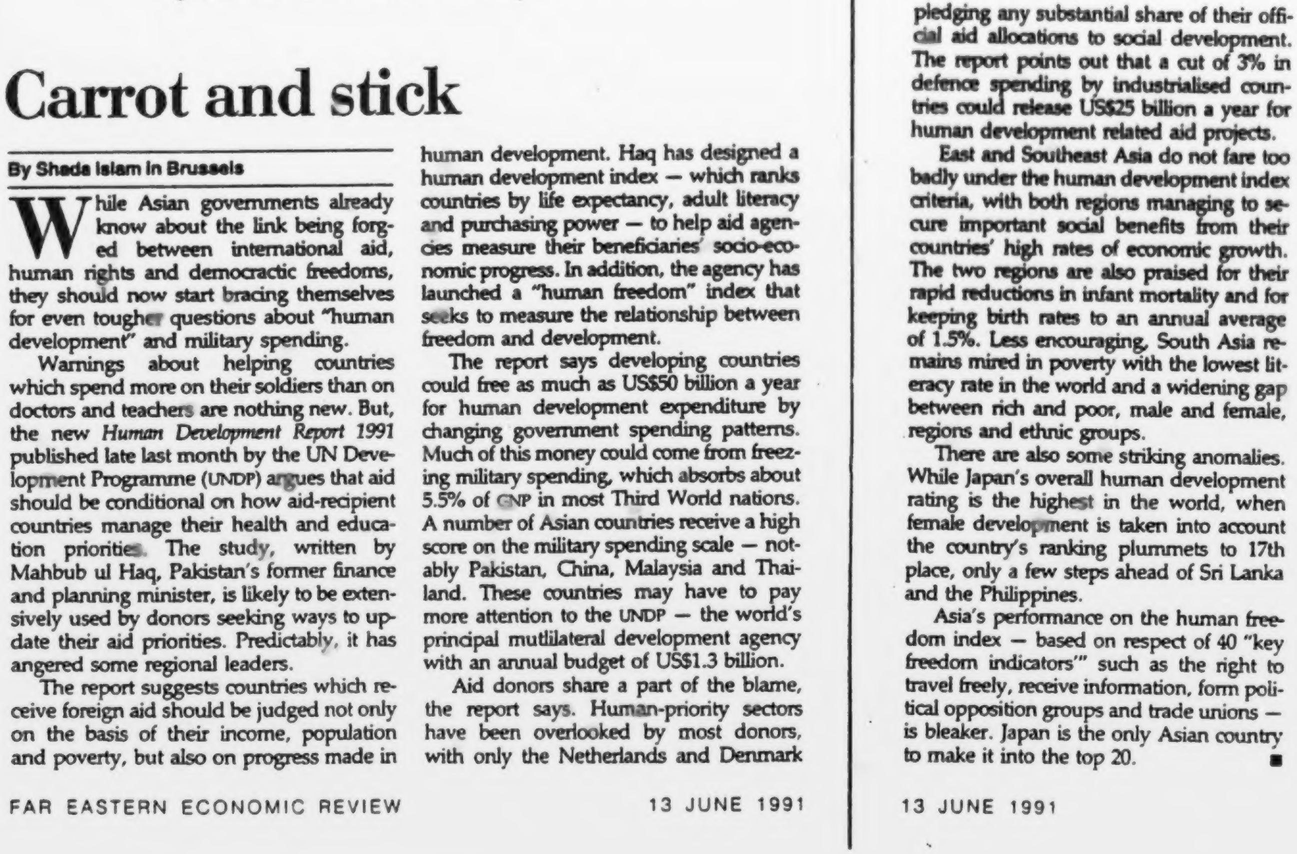
1. United States
2. China
3. Honduras
4. India
5. Mexico
6. Argentina
7. Italy
8. Bangladesh
9. Korea
10. Egypt
11. Guatemala
12. Ireland
13. Nepal
14. Australia
15. Ireland
16. Brazil
17. Ethiopia
18. Turkey

The Three Objectives of Development

1. To increase the availability and widen the distribution of basic life-sustaining goods such as food, shelter, health, and protection

2. To raise levels of living including, in addition to higher incomes, the provision of more jobs, better education, and greater attention to cultural and humanistic values, all of which will serve not only to enhance material well-being but also to generate greater individual and national self-esteem

3. To expand the range of economic and social choices available to individuals and nations by freeing them from servitude and dependence not only in relation to other people and nation-states but also to the forces of ignorance and human misery[1]



Carrot and stick

By Shada Islam in Brussels

While Asian governments already know about the link being forged between international aid, human rights and democractic freedoms, they should now start bracing themselves for even tougher questions about "human development" and military spending.

Warnings about helping countries which spend more on their soldiers than on doctors and teachers are nothing new. But, the new *Human Development Report 1991* published late last month by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) argues that aid should be conditional on how aid-recipient countries manage their health and education priorities. The study, written by Mahbub ul Haq, Pakistan's former finance and planning minister, is likely to be extensively used by donors seeking ways to update their aid priorities. Predictably, it has angered some regional leaders.

The report suggests countries which receive foreign aid should be judged not only on the basis of their income, population and poverty, but also on progress made in human development. Haq has designed a human development index — which ranks countries by life expectancy, adult literacy and purchasing power — to help aid agencies measure their beneficiaries' socio-economic progress. In addition, the agency has launched a "human freedom" index that seeks to measure the relationship between freedom and development.

The report says developing countries could free as much as US$50 billion a year for human development expenditure by changing government spending patterns. Much of this money could come from freezing military spending, which absorbs about 5.5% of GNP in most Third World nations. A number of Asian countries receive a high score on the military spending scale — notably Pakistan, China, Malaysia and Thailand. These countries may have to pay more attention to the UNDP — the world's principal mutlilateral development agency with an annual budget of US$1.3 billion.

Aid donors share a part of the blame, the report says. Human-priority sectors have been overlooked by most donors, with only the Netherlands and Denmark pledging any substantial share of their official aid allocations to social development. The report points out that a cut of 3% in defence spending by industrialised countries could release US$25 billion a year for human development related aid projects.

East and Southeast Asia do not fare too badly under the human development index criteria, with both regions managing to secure important social benefits from their countries' high rates of economic growth. The two regions are also praised for their rapid reductions in infant mortality and for keeping birth rates to an annual average of 1.5%. Less encouraging, South Asia remains mired in poverty with the lowest literacy rate in the world and a widening gap between rich and poor, male and female, regions and ethnic groups.

There are also some striking anomalies. While Japan's overall human development rating is the highest in the world, when female development is taken into account the country's ranking plummets to 17th place, only a few steps ahead of Sri Lanka and the Philippines.

Asia's performance on the human freedom index — based on respect of 40 "key freedom indicators'" such as the right to travel freely, receive information, form political opposition groups and trade unions — is bleaker. Japan is the only Asian country to make it into the top 20. ■

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[1] Michael P. Todaro, Economic Development in the Third World, (New York: Longman, 1989), p. 91.

Table 1. Basic indicators

	Population (millions) mid-1988	Area (thousands of square kilometers)	GNP per capita[a]		Average annual rate of inflation[a] (percent)		Life expectancy at birth (years) 1988	Adult illiteracy (percent)	
			Dollars 1988	Average annual growth rate (percent) 1965–88	1965–80	1980–88		Female 1985	Total 1985
Low-income economies	2,884.0 t	36,997 t	320 w	3.1 w	8.8 w	8.9 w	60 w	58 w	44 w
China and India	1,904.0 t	12,849 t	340 w	4.0 w	2.8 w	5.8 w	63 w	56 w	42 w
Other low-income	980.0 t	24,149 t	280 w	1.5 w	18.2 w	13.8 w	54 w	62 w	51 w
1 Mozambique	14.9	802	100	..	..	33.6	48	78	62
2 Ethiopia	47.4	1,222	120	−0.1	3.4	2.1	47	..	38
3 Chad	5.4	1,284	160	−2.0	6.2	3.2	46	89	75
4 Tanzania	24.7	945	160	−0.5	9.9	25.7	53	..	..
5 Bangladesh	108.9	144	170	0.4	14.9	11.1	51	78	67
6 Malawi	8.0	118	170	1.1	7.2	12.6	47	69	59
7 Somalia	5.9	638	170	0.5	10.3	38.4	47	94	88
8 Zaire	33.4	2,345	170	−2.1	24.5	56.1	52	55	39
9 Bhutan	1.4	47	180	..	..	8.9	48	..	..
10 Lao PDR	3.9	237	180	..	..	..	49	24	16
11 Nepal	18.0	141	180	..	7.8	8.7	51	88	74
12 Madagascar	10.9	587	190	−1.8	7.7	17.3	50	38	33
13 Burkina Faso	8.5	274	210	1.2	6.5	3.2	47	94	87
14 Mali	8.0	1,240	230	1.6	9.3	3.7	47	89	83
15 Burundi	5.1	28	240	3.0	6.4	4.0	49	74	66
16 Uganda	16.2	236	280	−3.1	21.2	100.7	48	55	43
17 Nigeria	110.1	924	290	0.9	13.7	11.6	51	69	58
18 Zambia	7.6	753	290	−2.1	6.4	33.5	53	33	24
19 Niger	7.3	1,267	300	−2.3	7.5	3.6	45	91	86
20 Rwanda	6.7	26	320	1.5	12.5	4.1	49	67	53
21 China	1,088.4	9,561	330	5.4	0.1	4.9	70	45	31
22 India	815.6	3,288	340	1.8	7.5	7.4	58	71	57
23 Pakistan	106.3	796	350	2.5	10.3	6.5	55	81	70
24 Kenya	22.4	580	370	1.9	7.3	9.6	59	51	41
25 Togo	3.4	57	370	0.0	6.9	6.1	53	72	59
26 Central African Rep.	2.9	623	380	−0.5	8.5	6.7	50	71	60
27 Haiti	6.3	28	380	0.4	7.3	7.9	55	65	62
28 Benin	4.4	113	390	0.1	7.5	8.0	51	84	74
29 Ghana	14.0	239	400	−1.6	22.8	46.1	54	57	47
30 Lesotho	1.7	30	420	5.2	8.0	12.2	56	16	26
31 Sri Lanka	16.6	66	420	3.0	9.4	11.0	71	17	13
32 Guinea	5.4	246	430	..	..	..	43	83	72
33 Yemen, PDR	2.4	333	430	..	..	4.5	51	75	59
34 Indonesia	174.8	1,905	440	4.3	34.2	8.5	61	35	26
35 Mauritania	1.9	1,026	480	−0.4	7.7	9.4	46	..	..
36 Sudan	23.8	2,506	480	0.0	11.5	33.5	50	..	..
37 *Afghanistan*	..	652	..	..	4.9	..	..	..	..
38 *Myanmar*	40.0	677	..	..	..	..	60	..	..
39 *Kampuchea, Dem.*	..	181	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
40 *Liberia*	2.4	111	..	..	6.3	..	50	77	65
41 *Sierra Leone*	3.9	72	..	..	7.8	..	42	79	71
42 *Viet Nam*	64.2	330	..	..	..	..	66	..	..
Middle-income economies	1,068.0 t	37,352 t	1,930 w	2.3 w	20.4 w	66.7 w	66 w	31 w	26 w
Lower-middle-income	741.7 t	24,451 t	1,380 w	2.6 w	21.7 w	80.8 w	65 w	32 w	27 w
43 Bolivia	6.9	1,099	570	−0.6	15.7	482.8	53	35	26
44 Philippines	59.9	300	630	1.6	11.7	15.6	64	15	14
45 Yemen Arab Rep.	8.5	195	640	..	..	11.6	47	97	86
46 Senegal	7.0	197	650	−0.8	6.5	8.1	48	81	72
47 Zimbabwe	9.3	391	650	1.0	5.8	12.1	63	33	26
48 Egypt, Arab Rep.	50.2	1,001	660	3.6	7.3	10.6	63	70	56
49 Dominican Rep.	6.9	49	720	2.7	6.8	16.8	66	23	23
50 Côte d'Ivoire	11.2	322	770	0.9	9.5	3.8	53	69	57
51 Papua New Guinea	3.7	463	810	0.5	8.1	4.7	54	65	55
52 Morocco	24.0	447	830	2.3	6.0	7.7	61	78	67
53 Honduras	4.8	112	860	0.6	5.6	4.7	64	42	41
54 Guatemala	8.7	109	900	1.0	7.1	13.3	62	53	45
55 Congo, People's Rep.	2.1	342	910	3.5	6.7	0.8	53	45	37
56 El Salvador	5.0	21	940	−0.5	7.0	16.8	63	31	28
57 Thailand	54.5	513	1,000	4.0	6.3	3.1	65	12	9
58 Botswana	1.2	582	1,010	8.6	8.1	10.0	67	31	29
59 Cameroon	11.2	475	1,010	3.7	8.9	7.0	56	55	44
60 Jamaica	2.4	11	1,070	−1.5	12.8	18.7	73	..	..
61 Ecuador	10.1	284	1,120	3.1	10.9	31.2	66	20	18
62 Colombia	31.7	1,139	1,180	2.4	17.4	24.1	68	13	12
63 Paraguay	4.0	407	1,180	3.1	9.4	22.1	67	15	12
64 Tunisia	7.8	164	1,230	3.4	6.7	7.7	66	59	46
65 Turkey	53.8	779	1,280	2.6	20.7	39.3	64	38	26
66 Peru	20.7	1,285	1,300	0.1	20.5	119.1	62	22	15
67 Jordan	3.9	89	1,500	..	..	2.2	66	37	25

Note: For data comparability and coverage, see the technical notes. Figures in italics are for years other than those specified.

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	Population (millions) mid-1988	Area (thousands of square kilometers)	GNP per capita[a]		Average annual rate of inflation[a] (percent)		Life expectancy at birth (years) 1988	Adult illiteracy (percent)	
			Dollars 1988	Average annual growth rate (percent) 1965–88	1965–80	1980–88		Female 1985	Male 1985
68 Chile	12.8	757	1,510	0.1	129.9	20.8	72	..	6
69 Syrian Arab Rep.	11.6	185	1,680	2.9	8.3	12.9	65	57	40
70 Costa Rica	2.7	51	1,690	1.4	11.3	26.9	75	7	6
71 Mexico	83.7	1,958	1,760	2.3	13.0	73.8	69	12	10
72 Mauritius	1.1	2	1,800	2.9	11.8	7.8	67	23	17
73 Poland	37.9	313	1,860	..	..	30.5	72	..	..
74 Malaysia	16.9	330	1,940	4.0	4.9	1.3	70	34	27
75 Panama	2.3	77	2,120	2.2	5.4	3.3	72	12	12
76 Brazil	144.4	8,512	2,160	3.6	31.5	188.7	65	24	22
77 *Angola*	9.4	1,247	..	..	..	..	45	..	59
78 *Lebanon*	..	10	..	..	9.3	..	..	..	..
79 *Nicaragua*	3.6	130	..	−2.5	8.9	86.6	64	..	..
Upper-middle-income	326.3 *t*	12,901 *t*	3,240 *w*	2.3 *w*	18.9 *w*	45.0 *w*	68 *w*	31 *w*	24 *w*
80 South Africa	34.0	1,221	2,290	0.8	10.1	13.9	61	..	..
81 Algeria	23.8	2,382	2,360	2.7	10.5	4.4	64	63	50
82 Hungary	10.6	93	2,460	5.1	2.6	6.4	70	[c]	[c]
83 Uruguay	3.1	177	2,470	1.3	57.8	57.0	72	4	5
84 Argentina	31.5	2,767	2,520	0.0	78.2	290.5	71	5	5
85 Yugoslavia	23.6	256	2,520	3.4	15.3	66.9	72	14	9
86 Gabon	1.1	268	2,970	0.9	12.7	0.9	53	47	38
87 Venezuela	18.8	912	3,250	−0.9	10.4	13.0	70	15	13
88 Trinidad and Tobago	1.2	5	3,350	0.9	14.0	5.3	71	5	4
89 Korea, Rep. of	42.0	99	3,600	6.8	18.7	5.0	70	..	..
90 Portugal	10.3	92	3,650	3.1	11.7	20.1	74	20	16
91 Greece	10.0	132	4,800	2.9	10.5	18.9	77	12	8
92 Oman	1.4	212	5,000	6.4	19.9	−6.5	64	..	..
93 Libya	4.2	1,760	5,420	−2.7	15.4	0.1	61	50	33
94 *Iran, Islamic Rep.*	48.6	1,648	..	..	15.6	..	63	61	49
95 *Iraq*	17.6	438	..	..	..	..	64	13	11
96 *Romania*	23.0	238	..	..	..	..	70	[c]	[c]
Low- and middle-income	3,952.0 *t*	74,349 *t*	750 *w*	2.7 *w*	16.5 *w*	46.8 *w*	62 *w*	51 *w*	40 *w*
Sub-Saharan Africa	463.9 *t*	22,240 *t*	330 *w*	0.2 *w*	12.5 *w*	15.5 *w*	51 *w*	65 *w*	52 *w*
East Asia	1,538.0 *t*	14,017 *t*	540 *w*	5.2 *w*	8.7 *w*	5.6 *w*	66 *w*	41 *w*	29 *w*
South Asia	1,106.8 *t*	5,158 *t*	320 *w*	1.8 *w*	8.3 *w*	7.5 *w*	57 *w*	72 *w*	59 *w*
Europe, M.East, & N.Africa	395.6 *t*	11,420 *t*	2,000 *w*	2.4 *w*	13.2 *w*	25.8 *w*	64 *w*	53 *w*	41 *w*
Latin America & Caribbean	413.6 *t*	20,293 *t*	1,840 *w*	1.9 *w*	29.4 *w*	117.4 *w*	67 *w*	19 *w*	17 *w*
Severely indebted	495.5 *t*	20,057 *t*	1,730 *w*	2.0 *w*	28.3 *w*	107.9 *w*	66 *w*	23 *w*	20 *w*
High-income economies	784.2 *t*	33,739 *t*	17,080 *w*	2.3 *w*	7.9 *w*	4.9 *w*	76 *w*	..	..
OECD members	751.1 *t*	31,057 *t*	17,470 *w*	2.3 *w*	7.7 *w*	4.7 *w*	76 *w*	..	..
†Other	33.1 *t*	2,682 *t*	8,380 *w*	3.1 *w*	15.9 *w*	10.8 *w*	71 *w*	..	..
97 †Saudi Arabia	14.0	2,150	6,200	3.8	17.2	−4.2	64	..	..
98 Spain	39.0	505	7,740	2.3	12.3	10.1	77	8	6
99 Ireland	3.5	70	7,750	2.0	12.0	8.0	74	..	..
100 †Israel	4.4	21	8,650	2.7	25.2	136.6	76	7	5
101 †Singapore	2.6	1	9,070	7.2	4.9	1.2	74	21	14
102 †Hong Kong	5.7	1	9,220[b]	6.3	8.1	6.7	77	19	12
103 New Zealand	3.3	269	10,000	0.8	10.2	11.4	75	[c]	[c]
104 Australia	16.5	7,687	12,340	1.7	9.3	7.8	76	[c]	[c]
105 United Kingdom	57.1	245	12,810	1.8	11.1	5.7	75	[c]	[c]
106 Italy	57.4	301	13,330	3.0	11.4	11.0	77	4	[c]
107 †Kuwait	2.0	18	13,400	−4.3	16.4	−3.9	73	37	30
108 Belgium	9.9	31	14,490	2.5	6.7	4.8	75	[c]	[c]
109 Netherlands	14.8	37	14,520	1.9	7.5	2.0	77	[c]	[c]
110 Austria	7.6	84	15,470	2.9	6.0	4.0	75	[c]	[c]
111 †United Arab Emirates	1.5	84	15,770	..	..	0.1	71	..	..
112 France	55.9	552	16,090	2.5	8.4	7.1	76	[c]	[c]
113 Canada	26.0	9,976	16,960	2.7	7.1	4.6	77	[c]	[c]
114 Denmark	5.1	43	18,450	1.8	9.3	6.3	75	[c]	[c]
115 Germany, Fed. Rep.	61.3	249	18,480	2.5	5.2	2.8	75	[c]	[c]
116 Finland	5.0	338	18,590	3.2	10.5	7.1	75	[c]	[c]
117 Sweden	8.4	450	19,300	1.8	8.0	7.5	77	[c]	[c]
118 United States	246.3	9,373	19,840	1.6	6.5	4.0	76	[c]	[c]
119 Norway	4.2	324	19,990	3.5	7.7	5.6	77	[c]	[c]
120 Japan	122.6	378	21,020	4.3	7.7	1.3	78	[c]	[c]
121 Switzerland	6.6	41	27,500	1.5	5.3	3.8	77	[c]	[c]
Total reporting economies	4,736.2 *t*	108,088 *t*	3,470 *w*	1.5 *w*	9.8 *w*	14.1 *w*	64 *w*	50 *w*	39 *w*
Oil exporters	593.3 *t*	17,292 *t*	1,500 *w*	2.0 *w*	15.1 *w*	21.4 *w*	61 *w*	43 *w*	35 *w*
Nonreporting nonmembers	364.5 *t*	25,399 *t*	..	..	..	..	70 *w*	..	..

Note: For economies with populations of less than 1 million, see Box A.1. For nonreporting nonmember economies, see Box A.2. † Economies classified by United Nations or otherwise regarded by their authorities as developing. a. See the technical notes. b. GNP data refer to GDP. c. According to Unesco, illiteracy is less than 5 percent.

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TABLE 1.1 Developing Countries and Territories by Income Group: OECD Classification System

LICs: 62 low-income countries

- * Afghanistan (AS)
- Angola (AF)
- * Bangladesh (AS)
- * Benin (AF)
- * Bhutan (AS)
- Bolivia (LA)
- Burma (AS)
- * Burundi (AF)
- * Cape Verde (LA)
- * Central African Republic (AF)
- China (AS)
- * Chad (AF)
- * Comoros (AF)
- Djibouti (AF)
- Egypt (AF/ME)
- El Salvador (LA)
- Equatorial Guinea (AF)
- * Ethiopia (AF)
- * Gambia (AF)
- Ghana (AF)
- * Guinea (AF)
- * Guinea-Bissau (AF)
- * Haiti (LA)
- Honduras (LA)
- India (AS)
- Kampuchea (AS)
- Kenya (AF)
- * Laos (AS)
- * Lesotho (AF)
- Liberia (AF)
- Madagascar (AF)
- * Malawi (AF)
- * Maldives (AS)
- * Mali (AF)
- Mauritania (AF)
- Mayotte (AF)
- Mozambique (AF)
- * Nepal (AS)
- * Niger (AF)
- Pakistan (AS)
- * Rwanda (AF)
- St. Helena (LA)
- Sao Tome and Pincipe (AF)
- Senegal (AF)
- Sierra Leone (AF)
- Solomon Islands (Br.) (AS)
- * Somalia (AF)
- Sri Lanka (AS)
- * Sudan (AF)
- * Tanzania (AF)
- Togo (AF)
- Tokelau Islands (AS)
- Tonga (AS)
- Tuvalu (AS)
- * Uganda (AF)
- * Upper Volta (AF)
- Vanuatu (AS)
- Viet Nam (AS)
- * Yemen, North (ME)
- * Yemen, South (ME)
- Zaire (AF)
- Zambia (AF)

MICs: 73 middle-income countries

- Bahamas (LA)
- Bahrain (ME)
- Barbados (LA)
- Belize (LA)
- Bermuda (LA)
- Botswana (AF)
- Brunei (AS)
- Cameroon (AF)
- Chile (LA)
- Colombia (LA)
- Congo (AF)
- Cook Islands (AS)
- Costa Rica (LA)
- Cuba (LA)
- Cyprus (ME)
- Dominican Republic (LA)
- Falkland Islands (LA)
- Fiji (AS)
- Gibraltar (ME)
- Guadeloupe (LA)
- Guatemala (LA)
- Guiana, French (LA)
- Guyana (LA)
- Israel (ME)
- Ivory Coast (AF)
- Jamaica (LA)
- Jordan (ME)
- Kiribati (AS)
- Lebanon (ME)
- Macao (AS)
- Malaysia (AS)
- Malta (ME)
- Martinique (LA)
- Mauritius (AF)
- Morocco (AF)
- Nauru (AS)
- Netherlands Antilles (AS)
- New Caledonia (AS)
- Nicaragua (LA)
- Niue Island (AS)
- Oman (ME)
- Pacific Islands (U.S) (AS)
- Panama (LA)
- Papua New Guinea (AS)
- Paraguay (LA)
- Peru (LA)
- Philippines (AS)
- Polynesia, French (AS)
- Reunion (AF)
- St. Pierre and Miquelon (LA)
- Seychelles (AF)
- Surinam (LA)
- Swaziland (AF)
- Syria (ME)
- Thailand (AS)
- Trinidad and Tobago (LA)
- Tunisia (AF)
- Turkey (E)
- Uruguay (LA)
- Wallis and Futuna (AS)
- Western Samoa (AS)
- West Indies (LA)
- Zimbabwe (AF)

NICs: 11 newly industrializing countries

- Argentina (LA)
- Brazil (LA)
- Greece (E)
- Hong Kong (AS)
- South Korea (AS)
- Mexico (LA)
- Portugal (E)
- Singapore (AS)
- Spain (E)
- Taiwan (AS)
- Yugoslavia (E)

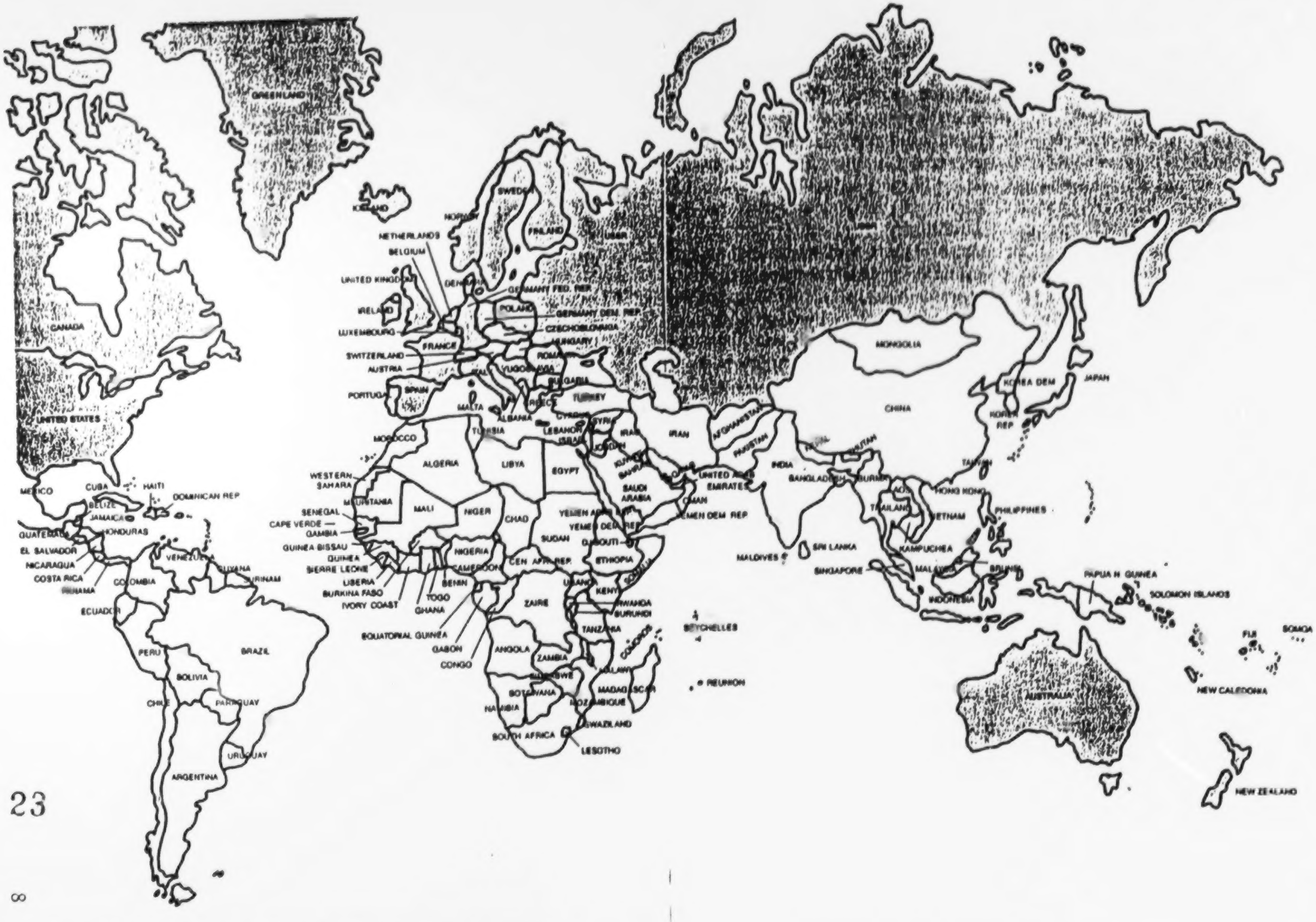
OPEC: 13 Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

- Algeria (AF)
- Ecuador (LA)
- Gabon (AF)
- Indonesia (AS)
- Iran (ME)
- Iraq (ME)
- Kuwait (ME)
- Libya (AF)
- Nigeria (AF)
- Qatar (ME)
- Saudi Arabia (ME)
- United Arab Emirates (ME)
- Venezuela (LA)

* LLDC (29 least-developed countries).

NOTE: AF, Africa (and off-shore islands); AS, Asia (including the Pacific); LA, Latin America (including Caribbean); ME, Middle East; E, Europe. Refer to Figure 1.1 for specific geographic location of these countries (not all territories are shown).

Michael P. Todoro, Economic Development in the Third World p. 15


GREENLAND
CANADA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
CUBA
HAITI
DOMINICAN REP
BELIZE
JAMAICA
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
EL SALVADOR
NICARAGUA
COSTA RICA
PANAMA
VENEZUELA
GUYANA
SURINAM
COLOMBIA
ECUADOR
PERU
BRAZIL
BOLIVIA
PARAGUAY
CHILE
URUGUAY
ARGENTINA
ICELAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
NETHERLANDS
BELGIUM
UNITED KINGDOM
DENMARK
IRELAND
GERMANY FED. REP
POLAND
GERMANY DEM. REP
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
LUXEMBOURG
HUNGARY
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
ROMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
BULGARIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ITALY
MALTA
GREECE
ALBANIA
TURKEY
CYPRUS
USSR
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
WESTERN SAHARA
MAURITANIA
MALI
NIGER
CHAD
SUDAN
SENEGAL
CAPE VERDE
GAMBIA
GUINEA BISSAU
GUINEA
SIERRE LEONE
LIBERIA
BURKINA FASO
IVORY COAST
GHANA
TOGO
BENIN
NIGERIA
CAMEROON
CEN AFR. REP.
ETHIOPIA
DJIBOUTI
SOMALIA
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
GABON
CONGO
ZAIRE
UGANDA
KENYA
RWANDA
BURUNDI
TANZANIA
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
MALAWI
ZIMBABWE
MOZAMBIQUE
BOTSWANA
NAMIBIA
MADAGASCAR
SWAZILAND
LESOTHO
SOUTH AFRICA
COMOROS
SEYCHELLES
REUNION
LEBANON
ISRAEL
SYRIA
JORDAN
IRAQ
IRAN
KUWAIT
BAHRAIN
QATAR
SAUDI ARABIA
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
OMAN
YEMEN ARAB REP
YEMEN DEM REP
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
INDIA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
BANGLADESH
BURMA
MALDIVES
SRI LANKA
MONGOLIA
CHINA
KOREA DEM
KOREA REP
JAPAN
TAIWAN
HONG KONG
LAOS
THAILAND
VIETNAM
KAMPUCHEA
PHILIPPINES
MALAYSIA
BRUNEI
SINGAPORE
INDONESIA
PAPUA N GUINEA
SOLOMON ISLANDS
AUSTRALIA
NEW CALEDONIA
FIJI
SAMOA
NEW ZEALAND

∞

FIGURE 1.1 A World Map of Developing (and Developed) Countries. "Developed" countries (both First and Second World) are shaded. All others are considered "developing" by the OECD classification system.

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Lesson 2

Goal: To increase student appreciation of cultural diversity while learning about impediments to development.

Objectives:

*Students will identify similarities and differences between Elvia Alvardo's childhood and their own.

*Students will describe the impediments to development they see in her narration.

*Students will improve their writing skills.

*Students will develop small group discussion skills.

Materials: Handout from chapter 1, Don't Be Afraid, Gringo by Elvia Alvarado.

Procedure:

1. Students read handout.
2. Students write a composition comparing their family life and childhood with Elvia's.
3. Students list sentences they feel express potential impediments to development and note their reasoning.
4. Students share their compositions in small groups and discuss the differences in their own childhoods as well as between theirs and Elvia's. Are the differences economic? Cultural? Other?
5. Students discuss their lists and reasons with their group.
6. Groups report out to the class for discussion and closure.

1

Childhood to Motherhood

My father was a campesino. He didn't have any land of his own, so he worked for the big landowners as a day worker. My mother raised chickens and pigs, and baked bread to sell at the market. They had seven children—five girls and two boys.

By the time I was six years old, I knew that my parents didn't get along. One of the problems was that there wasn't much work for my father. He'd go looking for work every day, but most of the time he didn't find anything. So he'd go out and get drunk instead. Then he'd come home and pick fights with my mother and hit her with his machete.

My mother would keep quiet when my father hit her. She knew that if she opened her mouth, if she dared to argue with him, he'd hit her more. But we kids would cry and scream and beg him to stop.

My mother finally decided that she couldn't take such abuse any longer, and she left him when I was seven.

After we left, my father moved to the coast. We never saw him again. Years later, after I had my first child, we got a telegram saying he had died. He was buried out there on the coast.

My mother worked like a mule to take care of us, and we all helped out. We'd get up at three in the morning, in the dark, to help bake bread, make tortillas, feed the pigs, and clean the house. All my brothers and sisters worked

hard—the boys in the fields of the big landowners, the girls in our house. At the age of seven, we were all working.

My father never let my older sisters go to school. He couldn't see why girls needed an education, since they'd only go live with a man and have babies. But my mother wanted us to learn, and since I was still young enough she decided to send me to school.

I was in school from the time I was seven until I was 12, but I only finished second grade. That's because the school in the town where I grew up only went to second grade. But I really wanted to learn, so I kept repeating second grade over and over again—five times—since there was nowhere else for me to go.

I can't say I had a happy childhood. We didn't have any toys; we didn't have time for games. We were too busy for that, since we were always working.

The only happy moments I recall were the dances on Saturdays, when my mother let me go dancing with my girlfriends. There'd be guitar players in the village square, and on special occasions they'd bring in a marimba band.

The other thing I liked was going to church. On Sundays we'd go to catechism class; we'd sing religious songs and learn the prayers. Sometimes the priest would make *piñatas* for us in the square. All the kids in the catechism class would get candy, bananas, and sodas. That was a big treat for us.

I never really had much of a childhood at all. By the time I was 13, I was already on my own. My mother went to live with a man in town. He didn't want to take care of her children, so she left us behind in the village. I wouldn't say she abandoned us; it's just one of those things that happens in life. She kept coming around to see how we were. To this day my mother always comes by my house to see how we're doing.

But it was hard when she first left us. I went to live with my older brother, who was married and had his own family.

My brother no longer talks to me because of the work I do. He works for one of the big landowners, and he calls me a communist because I try to organize the campesinos that don't have any land. But when I first went to live with his family, he treated me well.

After I'd been living with my brother for about two years, I started going out with a boy named Samuel. We were both 15 years old and didn't know what we were doing. When we fooled around, I had no idea I'd get pregnant—but I did. In those days, no one ever taught us the facts of life. The adults said that children weren't supposed to learn about such things. So we were left to figure it out on our own.

I remember that the first time I got my period I was terrified. I saw that my vagina was bleeding from the inside. I ran into the woods to take off my panties and look at the blood. I went back home, got a pail from the kitchen, and went to bathe myself. I thought that maybe taking a bath would stop the bleeding. But I just kept bleeding and bleeding.

I was so scared that I stuck some rags in my panties and laid down in the bed. I wrapped the blanket around me, covering myself from head to foot.

My mother came in and asked what was wrong, but I was too ashamed to tell her. I said I had a headache, but she knew I was lying. After I'd been in bed for a few hours, she finally said, "OK. You better tell me what's wrong, or else get out of bed and get back to work."

So I told her I was bleeding between my legs. "Don't be scared," she said. "All women get the same thing. It'll last about three days and then go away." When I got the same thing the next month, I wasn't so scared because at least I knew what it was.

Nowadays, the kids learn these things in school. But when I was young nobody told us anything.

Anyway, when my brother found out I was pregnant, he was furious. He said he was going to kill me. I hid in my older sister's house and he went there looking for me. When she told him I wasn't there, he said, "OK. Tell that little slut that I'll be back, and that I'm going to get her with the six bullets I have left in my gun. Because I don't like what she's done to me. I've taken care of her for two years, and look how she's repaid me."

My sister came back crying. She'd never seen my brother so mad. "You better get out of here quick," she said. "The best thing you can do is go to the capital where he won't be able to find you."

I didn't know what to do. I was only 15, and I'd never been to the capital before. I'd never even been to Comayagua, which is just a short bus ride away. What on earth would I do in the capital all by myself?

I wrapped my two dresses in a piece of cloth—that was my suitcase. I was barefoot because I didn't even own a pair of shoes at that time. My sister gave me the money for the bus fare, and I took off for the capital.

When I got off the bus, I didn't know where to go and I didn't have any money. I asked someone where the nearest park was, and I went and sat down on the park bench. I was three months pregnant, and my stomach was just beginning to show.

I sat on the bench for hours, crying and crying. I kept thinking, "What in the world will become of me? Where can I go? How am I going to eat? Where am I going to sleep?" It was getting dark. People kept walking by and staring at me.

At about 11 p.m., the caretaker of the park came and asked me why I was sitting there so long. I told him I was just relaxing, but he said, "You've been here for hours. I saw you when I came on at 6 o'clock and it's now 11. What's wrong?" He looked at my bundle. "You're not from here, are you?"

I told him I was from Lejamani, and that I was sitting in the park because I'd never been to the city before and I didn't know where else to go. I said I was exhausted and asked if I could spend the night in the park.

He said, yes, I could sleep in the park, and that he would watch me and make sure nothing happened to me. I put my bundle under my head as a pillow and fell asleep.

Early in the morning I woke up to the sounds of the women setting up their stalls in the market nearby. They were lighting fires to warm up coffee and milk for breakfast. I sat on the bench watching them. I was starving but I didn't have a cent.

The caretaker saw me and came over. "You don't have any money, do you?" he said. "Here, take this and buy yourself some bread and a cup of coffee." He gave me 50 cents (one *lempira*).

When the caretaker's shift was over, he warned me, "Look, muchacha, another man will be coming on now. He's not like me, and he might not let you stay here."

So I left. I put my bundle under my arm and started ringing doorbells, asking for work. But I was dirty and dressed in rags, so no one wanted to give me work. I walked up and down the streets, day and night, but couldn't find anything.

In the evening I went back to the park after the same caretaker returned for the night shift. I slept in the park again and began knocking on doors the next day. At the end of the second day, I found work.

I was hired as a cook in someone's house. It was a husband and wife with two children. The woman hired me because she realized I was pregnant and felt sorry for me. She said she'd pay me $10 a month, and I could stay there until I had my baby. But after that I'd have to leave, because she didn't want a baby in the house.

I worked there for six months. The woman was good to me, and every month I'd save the $10 I earned so I'd have money to buy things for my baby.

Some women have all kinds of problems when they get pregnant—they get nauseous and lose their appetite, or they have headaches and get real tired. Not me. The only way I ever know I'm pregnant is because I don't get my period. Otherwise I have no other signs.

I worked right up to the last day. When I started getting bad pains, I told the woman I worked for and she took me to the hospital.

I didn't know anything, because it was my first child. But when I felt the labor pains, I just gritted my teeth and clenched my fists until it passed. I didn't cry or anything.

The nurse said, "When you get a really strong pain that doesn't go away fast, push so the baby comes out."

She showed me this cement board they strap you on with your legs wide open—with everything sticking out. She said I should use it when the baby was ready to come out.

I had these pains, and they'd come and go, come and go. Then they started coming faster and faster, until I got this big pain that wouldn't go away. I said to myself, "Ah-ha. This must be what the nurse was talking about."

So I ran over to the board, stuck my legs in the stirrups, and pushed hard. I felt something wet coming out first. And then I felt the baby zooming out, like water rushing out of a bottle when you take the top off. The baby started crying, and one of the other pregnant women ran to tell the nurse.

The nurse came running over, furious. "Why didn't you call me?" she yelled. "You're not supposed to do this on your own." She grabbed the baby, cut his cord, and stuck him in a tub of water.

I don't know why she was so mad. She never told me to call for help, so how was I supposed to know? I just did it by myself. The next day I left the hospital.

After I had my baby, I went back to Lejamani and lived with one of my sisters. Two years later I got pregnant again.

It's very recent that women have started taking pills and things to keep from getting pregnant. When I was young there was nothing like that. We just got pregnant and had our children.

We were taught that women should have as many children as they can. And we were also taught that when a woman gets pregnant it's her responsibility, not the man's, because she let him touch her. If the man didn't want to marry the woman or help support the child, there wasn't anything the woman could do about it.

When I got pregnant the second time, I didn't bother going to a hospital. I just had the baby at home. I suppose I'm lucky that all my births have been easy; I never had any problems. I've heard the doctors say that when you're pregnant it's good to get exercise so that the child doesn't stick to your stomach. I think that's true, because with all my children I worked and worked until the last minute—washing clothes, ironing, baking bread, grinding corn, making cheese. My stomach would be tremendous. But when it came time to give birth, one big push and whoosh—they'd come out.

The father of my second child didn't have a job, and he wasn't faithful to me either. On top of that he tried to boss me around. So I decided to raise the child by myself.

The father of my third child was no better. As soon as he found out I was pregnant, he left. So many men in Honduras are like that. They stay with a woman just long enough to have a child, then they disappear and don't do anything to help support the children. They usually don't even admit that the children are theirs.

After my third child, I went to work in the capital as a maid so I could support my children. They stayed behind with my mother. By that time my mother was living on her own, and she wanted the children to keep her company. I earned $15 a month and I sent all the money home.

This time the people I worked for didn't treat me very well. They were always yelling at me for something—that I didn't cook the food right, that I burned a pot, that I broke a dish. If I broke something, they'd take it out of my salary. I'd get so nervous whenever mealtime came around, because I knew they'd yell at me for one thing or another.

Part of my job was feeding their big dog. You should've seen the food that dog got! Sometimes he got the leftovers, but sometimes I'd make a special meal for him. My boss would give me meat, tomatoes, and oil and tell me to cook it up for the dog.

And every time I fed that dog, I'd think of my own children. My children never got to eat meat. The $15 a month I sent them was hardly enough to buy beans and corn. But that dog got meat almost every day.

I wasn't allowed to eat the same food the family ate. I'd get beans, tortillas, and rice. The family would eat in a beautiful, big dining room, and I'd eat in the kitchen with the dog. So sometimes I'd steal the dog's food. I knew he wasn't about to say anything, so I'd swap dishes with him. But I always wished I could wrap the food up and somehow get it to my children.

I only got time off to visit my children every three months. I'd leave early on Saturday and return Sunday night so I could be back at work on Monday. Aside from that one weekend every three months, the rest of the time I never had a fixed day off—only when they felt like giving it to me.

I stayed there for two years. Then I returned home to Lejamani.

It was there that I met Alberto and we started living together. I left my children with my mother because she wanted to keep them. But a few months after Alberto and I started living together, the children told me they wanted to come live with us.

I was delighted. But a few days after they arrived, Alberto started fighting with them. He wouldn't give them food. "Let them go back to your mother's house," he told me, "because I'm not about to feed another man's children." What could I do? I had to send them back.

Even while they were living with my mother, they'd come to see me during the day when Alberto wasn't around. I'd give them whatever I had—a tortilla, a piece of bread. I remember one day the oldest boy was sitting at the table eating a tortilla when he heard Alberto come in. He grabbed the tortilla, stuffed it in his shirt, and ran out of the house. I felt awful.

"Look what you've done," I yelled at Alberto. "I can't even give my own children a scrap of food. They're terrified of you. I work my ass off trying to make a few pennies to support my children, and you have no right to stop me from feeding them."

That was when I started having my doubts about living with Alberto. But I was pregnant again, and had nowhere to go.

Alberto and I had three children together. While he worked out in the fields, I stayed in the house taking care of the children, cleaning, making bread to sell, collecting milk from the landowners to make cheese—anything to earn a few pennies.

Part of the time we were happy together, but Alberto had the same problem my father did—he liked to drink. So while I scraped and saved to buy food for the children, he would spend his money on booze. But at least he didn't hit me like my father hit my mother, and he was good to his own children. That's why I stayed with him.

Lesson 3

Goal: To create student awareness of the interdependence of countries and the need for sustainable development to protect the world's resources.

Objectives:

*Students will demonstrate understanding of the interdependence of countries and the responsibility to cooperate in solving environmental, energy, economic, political and other problems by citing examples of these in the debriefing.

*Students will demonstrate understanding of sustainable economic development by citing examples in the discussion.

Materials: Unequal Resources Simulation, article on rain forest.

Procedures:

1. Students act out the simulation.
2. Students debrief with discussion questions provided in the simulation. Teacher asks which countries finished their tasks first. Does control over resources affect development? What other factors helped? Innovation? Technology? What can the simulation teach us about the relationship of First and Third World countries to each other?
3. Students read rain forest article and discuss examples of social and sustainable development.

Extension: Students pick a Third World country and research what resources it has and whether in sufficient quantity for its needs and which resources it lacks that it needs.

Unequal Resources Simulation

[Simulation is taken from an article by Dr. Margit McGuire of Seattle Pacific University which was reprinted from the Fall 1983 newsletter of the Washington State Council for the Social Studies. The activity has been adapted from The 1972 Handbook for Group Facilitators, Unequal Resources.]

Materials:

1. Task sheet-one for each of four groups.
2. Four large envelopes.
3. Three pairs of scissors.
4. Twenty paper clips.
5. One ruler.
6. One bottle of glue.
7. Two felt pens.
8. Two pencils.
9. Colored 8 1/2 x 11" sheets of paper-4 red, 3 white, 5 blue, 5 gold, 3 green and 3 purple.
10. Discussion questions ditto.

In advance, assemble the materials as follows:

Envelope #1-Two scissors, one ruler, 20 paper clips, two pencils, two 4" squares of red paper and two 4" squares of white paper.

Envelope #2-One scissors, glue, and sheets of paper, two of each color: blue, white, and gold.

Envelope #3-Two felt pens and sheets of paper, two of each color: green, gold, blue, red, and purple.

Envelope #4-Sheets of paper, one of each color: green, gold, blue, red, and purple.

Attach one task sheet to the outside of each envelope.

Physical Setting:

A table and chairs for each of the four groups.

Procedure:

1. Tell students that they are going to be participating in an activity in which they will be asked to perform tasks to meet the needs and wants of a country.
2. Divide the class into four groups. (If groups are larger than five students each, the teacher may want to have two sets of four groups.)
3. Assign each group a table.
4. Distribute the envelopes but instruct the students not to open the envelopes until the teacher gives permission. Instruct students to read the task sheet.
5. Explain to the groups that resources vary from country to country and they may bargain between countries to obtain the needed resources to complete their tasks. All countries must complete the same tasks.
6. Ask students to notify the teacher when their group has completed all the tasks listed. (Once a group has completed their tasks, check their work and draw attention to the fact that the country has completed all their tasks. While the teacher does not want to stress competition, competition will be keen among the participants. If there are two sets of groups and one group in one of the sets completes all the tasks, ask the question, "Which set of countries will finish first?" The response among participants should be that each set will begin to cooperate among themselves.)
7. Give the signal to begin, and observe the students interacting. (It is suggested that the techer take written notes of the simulation, noting actions that demonstrate . . .[global society, interdependence, change, conflict, cross-cultural communication]. The data can be used as a basis for disscussion in the debriefing.)
8. Once the countries have completed their tasks, draw attention to the variation in products produced by each country.
9. Begin debriefing by distributing discussion questions, and ask the countries to answer the questions and be prepared to share their responses with the class.

Unequal Resources Task Sheet

Your group has the responsibility of providing certain needs and wants for your country. These needs and wants are met by completing the tasks listed following:

1. Food-Make four strips of gold paper, each three inches by one inch.
2. Clothing-Make a green "T" four inches high.
3. Shelter-Make a two-inch white square, and attach a gold triangle to one side of the square.
4. Industry-Make a four-link paper chain, each link of a different color.

5. Education-Make a four-page book out of two different colors.

Discussion Questions

1. Could you have completed your tasks without getting resources from another country? Why or why not?
2. How did your country adapt to not having all the resources it needed?
3. Were there any conflicts between countries? Why or why not?
4. Were there any communication problems when dealing with other countries?
5. How did you feel when you realized that resources were unqeually distributed?
6. What resources were in high demand?
7. Why do you think there was a wide variation in the way the tasks were completed?
8. Can you give examples of innovative ways in which countries completed their tasks?

San Francisco Chronicle, October 5, 1991

Some Advice On Saving Rain Forest

Head of rubber tappers rips 'empty environmentalism'

By Perry Lang
Chronicle Staff Writer

Americans supporting the struggle to save the Brazilian rain forest must consider the social as well as the ecological issues confronting the Amazon, the leader of a Brazilian rubber tappers' union said yesterday in San Francisco.

"Efforts to save the forest are doomed to failure if (we) don't address the roots of the problem" said Osmarino Rodrigues, leader of the Brazilian National Council of Rubber Tappers. He is the successor of Chico Mendes, the popular union leader and environmentalist who was slain in 1989, apparently by gunmen opposed to the union's goals.

At a news conference sponsored by the Rainforest Action Network in San Francisco, Rodrigues said, "Deforestation in the Amazon cannot be resolved without addressing the social and economic conflicts behind the destruction of the rain forest."

The social and economic issues of concern to Rodrigues include land-reform initiatives proposed by the union that would allow rubber tappers and thousands of others living in the rain forest to make a living off the land.

"We don't want an empty environmentalism that speaks of nature while forgetting man; that speaks of the defense of the forest while forgetting the people of the forest," said Rodrigues, who is touring the United States to help establish ties between America and the hundreds of thousands of people who live in the Amazon.

Speaking in Portuguese and translated by an interpreter, Rodrigues said the union's struggle for reform continues to be dangerous. Aside from Mendes, many tappers have been killed in encounters with cattle ranchers who cut down acres of forest trees for their herds, he said.

Rodrigues, who also spoke yesterday at the University of California at Berkeley, is scheduled to leave the Bay Area tomorrow for New York.

Lesson 4

Objectives:

*Students will located the 159 countries included in the OECD classification.

*Students will compare the locations of Third World countries with colonial territories of the past.

* Students will outline historic motivations for imperialism.

Materials: World map with countries marked, colored markers or highlighters, 19th century world map(s), readings from and about the colonial periods, list of OECD countries.

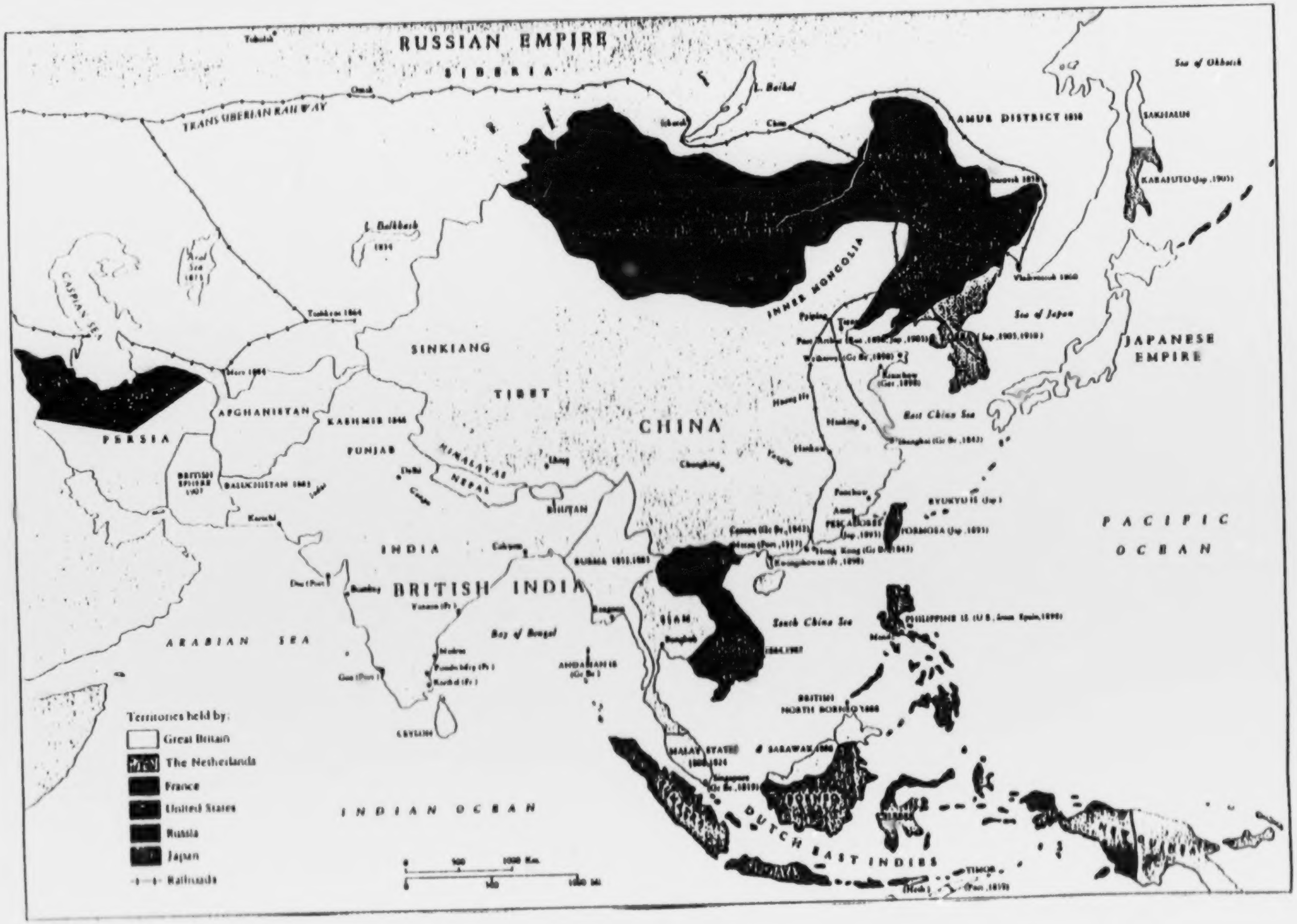
Procedures:

1. Working in groups students locate the countries and shade them in according a code such as the following: yellow=low-income; blue=middle income; red=newly industrialized; green=petroleum exporting .

2. Students compare their map with the colonial period map, noting which areas overlap as well as the exceptions.

3. Students read about imperial motivations and try to draw conclusions and postulate reasons for the similarities and differences in the two maps. Groups share their ideas in a class disscusion and develop a list of benefits and drawback from colonization for the colony.

Extensions: Show one or both of the following films: "Sugar Cane Alley," "Chocolat."


RUSSIAN EMPIRE
SIBERIA
Tobolsk
TRANSSIBERIAN RAILWAY
Omsk
L. Baikal
AMUR DISTRICT 1858
Sea of Okhotsk
SAKHALIN
KARAFUTO (Jap. 1905)
L. Balkhash
Aral Sea
CASPIAN SEA
Tashkent 1864
Merv 1884
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
BALUCHISTAN
Karachi
SINKIANG
TIBET
KASHMIR 1846
PUNJAB
Delhi
HIMALAYAS
NEPAL
BHUTAN
INNER MONGOLIA
Peiping
Vladivostok 1860
Sea of Japan
JAPANESE EMPIRE
East China Sea
CHINA
Chungking
Hankow
Nanking
RYUKYU IS. (Jap.)
PACIFIC OCEAN
FORMOSA (Jap. 1895)
PESCADORES
Hong Kong
INDIA
BRITISH INDIA
Calcutta
Bombay
BURMA
Bay of Bengal
ARABIAN SEA
Goa (Port.)
Madras
Pondicherry (Fr.)
CEYLON
ANDAMAN IS.
SIAM
Bangkok
South China Sea
PHILIPPINE IS. (U.S., from Spain, 1898)
BRITISH NORTH BORNEO 1888
SARAWAK
MALAY STATES
Singapore
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TIMOR
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Territories held by:
Great Britain
The Netherlands
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John P. McKay, et al., *A History of World Societies*, p. 947.

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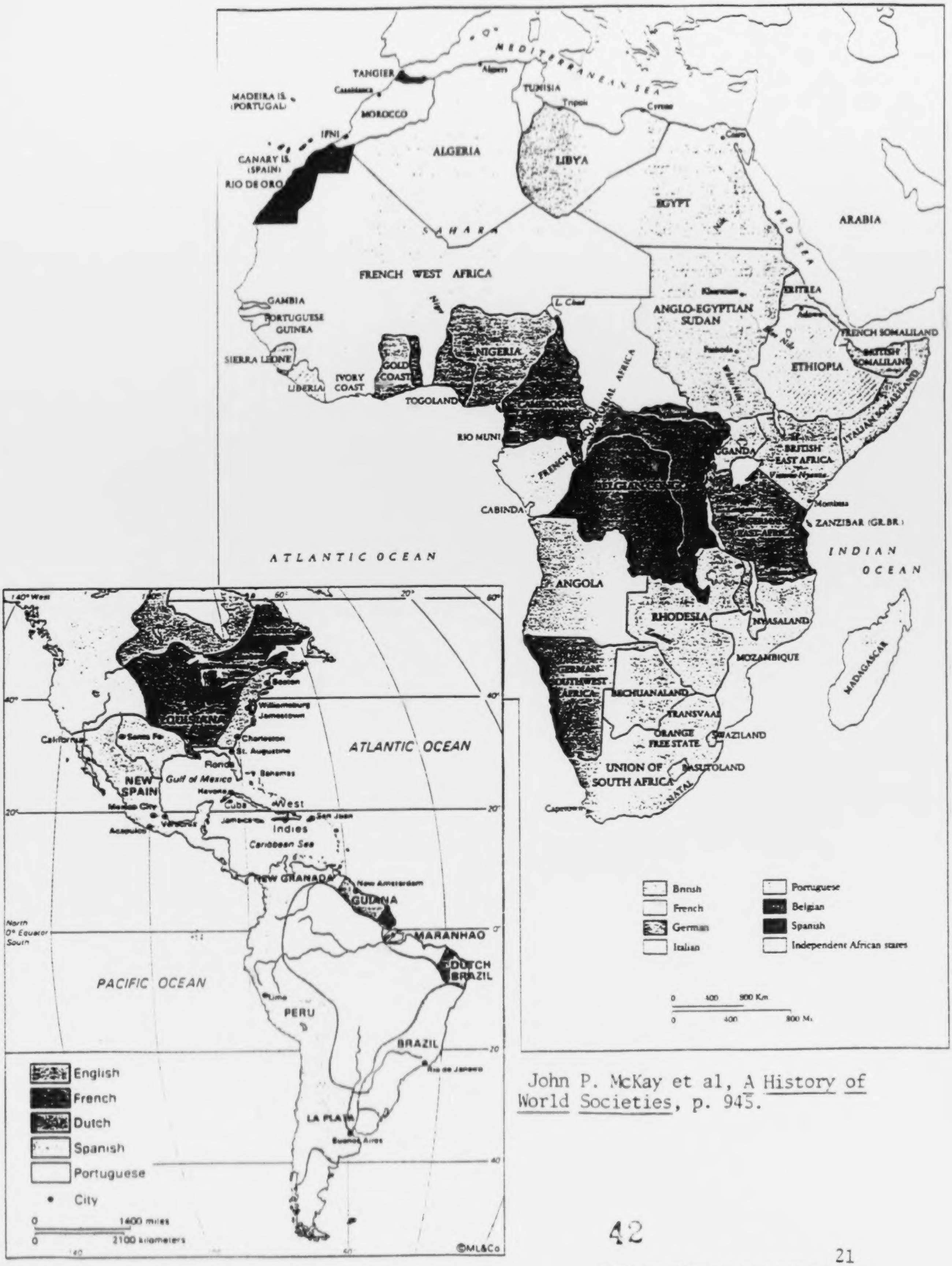
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
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CANARY IS. (SPAIN)
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LIBYA
EGYPT
ARABIA
RED SEA
SAHARA
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
GAMBIA
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
GOLD COAST
TOGOLAND
NIGERIA
CAMEROON
RIO MUNI
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
ERITREA
FRENCH SOMALILAND
BRITISH SOMALILAND
ETHIOPIA
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UGANDA
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
BELGIAN CONGO
CABINDA
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
ZANZIBAR (GR.BR.)
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
ANGOLA
RHODESIA
NYASALAND
MOZAMBIQUE
MADAGASCAR
GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA
BECHUANALAND
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West Indies
San Juan
Jamaica
Mexico City
Veracruz
Acapulco
Caribbean Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NEW GRANADA
New Amsterdam
GUIANA
MARANHAO
DUTCH BRAZIL
PACIFIC OCEAN
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PERU
BRAZIL
Rio de Janeiro
LA PLATA
Buenos Aires
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French
Dutch
Spanish
Portuguese
City
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0 2100 kilometers
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John P. McKay et al, A History of World Societies, p. 945.

Ross E. Dunn, Links Across Time and Place, p. 452.

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The following selections were taken from What were the causes of the "New Imperialism"? by Bernard Feder.

By the early part of the 19th century, it appeared that the countries of Europe had lost interest in building huge overseas empires. By 1800, France had lost most of its empire, and Britain had been forced to grant independence to its most important American colonies. Early in the century, Spain and Portugal lost their empires in South America. More important, the countries of Europe showed no inclination to seek new colonial empires.

The last third of the 19th century, however, saw a new scramble for colonies. Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, and Portugal engaged in a race to annex the undeveloped areas of the world. By 1914, it is estimated that 40 per cent of the land surface of the earth and about a third of the world's people were under colonial control, with the countries of Europe holding the lion's share. This movement has been referred to as the "new imperialism," to distinguish it from the "old imperialism" that developed during and after the "Age of Discovery and Exploration" of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries.

We Frenchmen, a thrifty people, who are careful not to have more children than we can support, careful not to adventure into far lands . . . why do we need colonies? What can we do with them? France has paid in lives and money so that the Congo, Cochinchina, Annam, Tonkin, Guinea, and Madagascar may buy cotton from Manchester, munitions from Birmingham, liquor from Danzig, and wine from Hamburg. For the last seventy years France has attacked, persecuted, and chased the Arabs in order that Italians and Spaniards might live in Algeria!

But while the French people get nothing from the territories in Africa and Asia, their governments find it most profitable. It is a way of gaining favor with the military and naval leaders who get promotions, pensions and decorations . . . with shipowners, army contractors, and shady politicians. It is a way of flattering the ignorant mob, which thinks that owning an overseas empire will make the Germans and the English turn green with envy. . . .

The world's resources can be fully developed only by the cooperation of all races, white, yellow and black.

Anatole France, "La Folie Coloniale," in *Neue Freie Presse*, April 18, 1904, quoted in France, *Trente Ans de la Vie Sociale*, Paris, Editions Emile-Paul Frères, 1949, I, 207–09.

QUESTION: What does Anatole France suggest are the real reasons behind France's search for colonies?

The Philippines are ours forever . . . And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work . . . with gratitude . . . and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world. . . .

Our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean . . . And the Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future . . . The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And, with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic.

Congressional Record, 56th Congress, 1st Session (1900), 704 ff.

QUESTION: What appears to be Beveridge's major argument in this selection? How many other arguments for imperialism can you find here?

. . . There is no relation between the purely economic need for expansion . . . and the actual facts of colonial expansion. French capitalism was one of the least dynamic in Europe, yet the African empire that France acquired at the end of the nineteenth century is second in importance only to that of Great Britain. Russia, which . . . was only entering upon its capitalistic career . . . was nevertheless diplomatically active both in Europe and in Asia. The Russian interest in Manchuria . . . was not dictated by economic considerations. . . .

. . . none of the colonial undertakings that caused important diplomatic conflicts in Europe was motivated by the quest for capitalist profits; they all originated in political ambitions . . . In other words, the actual relationship is most often the reverse of that accepted by the current theory of imperialism: the economic interests are only a pretext . . . whereas the profounder cause lies in the nations' will to power. . . .

Colonialist statesmen . . . constantly invoked economic arguments—the prospect of acquiring naval bases, markets for products, reserves of raw materials, etc. Nothing was easier than to take such arguments literally and transform them into the real causes. . . .

. . . at a time when thinking everywhere is dominated by economic considerations, the so-called colonialists can increase the popularity of their cause by using these considerations to justify it. The public might turn away from them or rebel if they spoke of glory or national greatness.

From *The Century of Total War* by Raymond Aron. Copyright © 1954 by the author. Reprinted by permission of Doubleday & Company, Inc. and André Deutsch Limited, London. 59–61.

QUESTION: In what way is Aron's argument "the reverse of that accepted by the current theory of imperialism?" What evidence would you need to support either position?

No one in France . . . doubts the benefits of colonization and the advantages which it offers both to the country which undertakes it and to that which receives it. Everyone agrees that colonies offer markets for raw materials, the means of production, the products lacking to the mother-country; that they open markets to all the commerce and all the industries of an old country, by the wants, by the new needs of the people with whom they are in relation. . . .

"Programme." *Bulletin de la Société des études coloniales et maritimes*, cited in A. Murphy, *The Ideology of French Imperialism, 1871–1881*. Catholic University of America, 1948, 29.

`Question: What are the advantages of colonization to the country receiving it?`

All great nations in the fulness of their strength have desired to set their mark upon barbarian lands. All over the globe to-day we see the peoples of Europe creating a mighty aristocracy of the white races. Those who take no share in this great rivalry will play a pitiable part in time to come. The colonizing impulse has become a vital question for a great nation. . . .

We . . . [in Germany] realise to-day what opportunities we have missed. The consequences of the last half-century have been appalling, for in them England has conquered the world. Continuous friction left the Continent no leisure to turn its eyes across the seas to where England was capturing everything . . . the whole position of Germany depends upon the number of German-speaking millions in the future . . . [and] no other course is open to us but to keep the subject race in as uncivilized a condition as possible, and thus prevent them from becoming a danger to the handful of their conquerors. . . .

We must, and will, take our share in the domination of the world by white races. . . .

Heinrich von Treitschke, *Politics* (1897), (B. Dugdale and T. de Bille, trans.), New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963, 64–67, 108. Abridged version of 2-vol. Constable and Co. edition, 1916.

44 QUESTION: What appears to be Treitschke's major argument for German imperialism?

These selections were found in Imperialism by Peter Amey.

THE IMPACT OF THE WEST

This 1917 account by a British colonial official shows how some colonialists began their task

In mid 1917, I arrived at a remote, unadministered part of [Tanganyika] . . . with orders to set up at least a rudimentary civil authority. I had my servants, an African sergeant, porters for my goods, and some twenty police uniforms and rifles and a little ammunition for them. Having arrived at the chosen place – a mission station – I summoned the local chiefs, explained that I was the government and would they please provide me with twenty men to be policemen? Would they also please note that from now on people must not kill their wives or children whose teeth appeared in the ill-omened order; nor must chiefs make war on their neighbours without consulting me? In fact, a whole lot of customary and often agreeable things must be given up.

RELIGION, CIVILIZATION, AND TRADE

DAVID LIVINGSTONE (1813-1873) – Who taught that good would come to the Africans if they began to produce for the world's markets

Sending the Gospel to the heathen must . . . include much more than . . . a man going about with a Bible under his arm . . . . My observations on this subject make me extremely desirous to promote the preparation of the raw materials of European manufactures in Africa, for by that means we may not only put a stop to the slave-trade, but introduce the negro family into the body corporate of nations, no one member of which can suffer without the others suffering with it. Success in this . . . would lead . . . to a much larger diffusion of the blessings of civilization . . . neither civilization nor Christianity can be promoted alone. In fact, they are inseparable.

IMPERIALISM AND EXPLOITATION

JOMO KENYATTA – Who led Kenya to independence in 1963

The white man came and asked us to shut our eyes and pray. When we opened our eyes it was too late – our land was gone.

ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM

One extreme but widely held modern view is that imperialism is concerned only with exploitation, and that unless there is a revolution this will continue after a colony's independence. This extract is from a 1966 resolution by a group of countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America

Imperialism is the result of the domination of developed capitalist countries by cartels, trusts and financial corporations that have the fundamental and final purpose of obtaining maximum profits, one of the most important sources being the looting and exploitation of colonies and neo-colonial countries, principally by exporting capital which then dominates their economies . . . .

In the colonies, imperialism adapts traditional societies to the purposes of its exploitation, turning them into simple dependencies of the metropolis, suppliers of cheap raw materials and buyers of manufactured goods from the powers that own them. In the case of the countries that have gained their political independence, imperialism does its best to maintain them in similar economic dependence through the possession of their main sources of wealth and by monopolist control of their foreign trade and of their financial resources that, together with the investment of capital on the part of imperialist monopolies, form the principle supports of neo-colonialism . . . .

JAVA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: A COLONY OF EXPLOITATION

This account is from a book written in 1859 by an official of the Dutch East Indian civil service

The Javanese is . . . devoted heart and soul to the cultivation of his rice fields . . . .

But strangers came from the west, who made themselves lords of his land. They wished to benefit from the fertility of the soil, and commanded its occupant to devote part of his labour and time to growing other products which would yield greater profit in the markets of *Europe.* To make the common man do this, a very simple policy sufficed. He obeys his chiefs; so it was only necessary to win over those chiefs by promising them part of the proceeds . . . . And the scheme succeeded completely.

On seeing the immense quantity of Javanese products auctioned in the Netherlands, one must be convinced of the effectiveness of this policy, even though one cannot consider it noble. For, if anyone should ask whether the man who grows the products receives a reward proportionate to the yields, the answer must be in the negative. The government compels him to grow on *his* land what pleases *it*; it punishes him when he sells the crop so produced to anyone else but *it*; and *it* fixes the price it pays him. The cost of transport to Europe via a privileged trading company is high. The money given to the chiefs to encourage them swells the purchase price further, and . . . since, after all, the entire business *must* yield a profit, this profit can be made in no other way than by paying the Javanese just *enough* to keep him from starving . . . .

THE NEED FOR IMPERIALISM

CECIL RHODES – Writing in 1895. He made a fortune from diamonds and gold in South Africa, became Prime Minister of Cape Colony, and founded Rhodesia

I was in the East End of London yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for 'bread! bread!' and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism . . . . My cherished idea is a solution of the social problem, i.e. in order to save the forty million inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists.

IMPERIALISM AND EXPLOITATION: THE BELGIAN CONGO

This is part of a report by an international commission written in 1900. It describes the system set up by King Leopold of Belgium in the Congo. The report forced him to give up control

In the rubber districts . . . the tax was assessed at so many kilogrammes of rubber. If the stated quantity was not delivered to the 'Treasury' there were several methods of enforcing compliance. Chiefs were detained . . . until their people furnished their quota of rubber; hostages were taken; women and children imprisoned; the *chicotte* [a rawhide lash] was used on those who had not brought into the post their prescribed amounts of rubber. Sentinels were posted in centres of population to supervise the work of the natives. Refractory villages received visits from military patrols. At times punitive expeditions were sent to mete out exemplary punishment. Villages were burnt. . . .

AC

THE NEW IMPERIALISM AND TRADE (1)

A. J. BEVERIDGE – An American Senator writing in 1898

American factories are making more than the American people can use; American soil is producing more than they can consume. Fate has written our policy for us; the trade of the world must and shall be ours. And we will get it as our mother [England] has told us how. We will establish trading posts throughout the world as distributing points for American products. We will cover the ocean with our merchant marine. We will build a navy to the measure of our greatness. Great colonies governing themselves, flying our flag and trading with us, will grow about our posts of trade.

THE ADVANTAGES OF EMPIRE

An extract from an editorial in The Times, *4th February 1862*

It can be proved by figures that our export trade has grown up and is now in a great measure supported by the settlements which Englishmen of past or present days have made in distant regions of the globe . . . . These benefits depend on the fact that every emigrant becomes a far more productive customer when set down in a new soil than when he was struggling for existence at home. He immediately obtains the means of comfort and even of luxury. His ideas of both are formed from what he has seen and envied in his own country. His wants are those of an Englishman. He naturally becomes a large consumer of English products. English manufactures [and food] are exported in immense quantities to supply what is really a piece of England in the New World or the Antipodes. The wants of the Colonist are not only larger than those of the German or Russian, the Mexican or Brazilian, but they differ in kind, and the difference is in our favour . . . . It is but a few years since the Colonies of Australia were denounced as failures . . . . Australia has grown up and now takes our manufactures by millions. The truth is that there is no wiser policy for a country like ours than to take possession of the waste places of the Earth, and give our crowded populations the power of settling in them under our own laws . . . .

It was entitled *Visions d'Afrique*, from 1925. The author, Louis Proust, member of the Conseil Supérieur des Colonies and national assemblyman, described in the tone of his time daily life in the Ivory Coast:

> And thus is the marvel of our colonial effort. It is not having made cities spring forth from deserts, nor having cast across the bush and the forests the long ribbons of railway, nor having installed in this virgin country prosperous industries and superb scientific establishments; it is not even having tamed ferocious races and having imposed our peace. That, any European nation could have done; but it is having, in 10 years, by our joyous activity, by our serene justice, by our benevolent firmness, by that powerful attraction that belongs only to France, reached deep into these childlike souls, of having gently steered them from the mists of their savagery to the light of civilization, of having, in the end, made of these indolent and bloodthirsty populations a real people of merchants, artisans and farmers.
>
> By our exhortations, by our encouragements, and above all by our example, we have revealed to them the richness of the land, we have wakened in them a fecund curiosity. To see us, peaceable, hard-working and gay, to hear us speak of order, of work and of providing for the future, new ideas stirred among these slumbering intellects. The spears and hatchets, now powerless, are rusting at the back of straw huts, and everyone is at work planting. . . . and when one looks upon these thousand black silhouettes stop[ping] at the foot of each vine to carefully pour water carried in a calabash, one can already imagine an immense harvest germinat[ing] and flower[ing] under the radiant smile of the sweetness of France.

Mort Rosenblum, Mission to Civilize, p. 17

Lesson 5

Objectives:

*Students will practice reading critically.
*Students will identify issues of concern in developing countries.

Materials: Article handouts with questions, student criteria for development and definition of development.

Procedure:

1. Students, working individually, in pairs or in groups, read one or more of the articles and answer the question(s) on it. Each article should be read by several individuals, pairs or groups, but the entire class need not read all articles.

2. Class discusses the articles and answers to the questions. Concerns of the articles are discussed in the context of their criteria and definition.

Tips for Travelers in Mexico

A WORD ABOUT PLUMBING

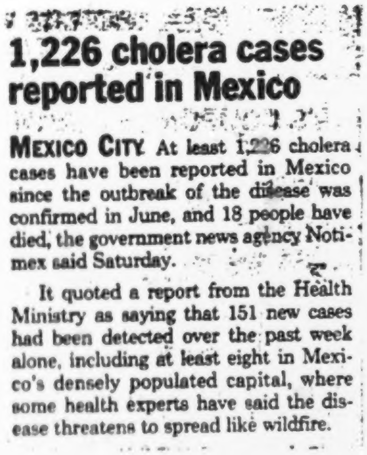
Bathrooms will say "Damas" (Women) or "Caballeros" (Men), or are marked by a fan or pipe or something similar. "WC" means water closet, and either men or women may enter. You may want to carry Kleenex or tissue when out and about because toilet paper is not always found. Faucets are marked "C" for "caliente" (hot) and "F" for "frio" (cold), but they are not too standardized, so if the "C" does not render hot, try the "F".

HEALTH

In order to avoid problems, it is strongly recommended that you do not drink tap water while in Mexico. (Don't even brush your teeth in it!) Hotels generally provide bottled water for guests, but if in doubt, buy bottled water or buy drops for disinfecting water. Restaurants generally purchase ice made from purified water, but if cubes aren't regular in shape or give you any doubts, avoid ice in drinks. You should also avoid salads or raw vegetables, and do not eat on the street.

(from Institute for International Education participant package)

San Francisco Chronicle, September 29, 1991



1,226 cholera cases reported in Mexico

MEXICO CITY. At least 1,226 cholera cases have been reported in Mexico since the outbreak of the disease was confirmed in June, and 18 people have died, the government news agency Notimex said Saturday.

It quoted a report from the Health Ministry as saying that 151 new cases had been detected over the past week alone, including at least eight in Mexico's densely populated capital, where some health experts have said the disease threatens to spread like wildfire.

1. Why avoid salads and raw vegetables?
2. What are diseases you can contract from unsafe water?
3. Why will cholera "spread like wildfire"?
4. What conclusions might you draw about sanitation and education in Mexico?

Tips for Travelers in Honduras

The Honduran currency is the Lempira, it is named after an Indian who died fighting against the Spaniards. If you know some Spanish make sure to say "un Lempira", never "una Lempira". The official exchange rate is 5.80 Lempiras per Dollar. You can change your money in any bank or at the hotel. If you want to change your Lempiras back to Dollars, it is almost impossible. Although there is an illegal black market where you can get a slightly better rate, I would not advise it.

(from Institute for International Education participant package)

1. Why not trade on the black market?
2. What does the existence of a black market indicate about a country's economy?

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CAIE Centro de Analisis e Investigacion Economica, April 1991

THE DEMAND FOR NEW CARS IN MEXICO

The behavior of the demand for new cars in Mexico suggest that the benefits of the "Day Without Car" program in the Mexico City metropolitan area will be cancelled out in about eight months. The growth of income is inducing purchases of mid-sized cars and if lighter restrictions on imports bring about price reductions, purchases of luxury cars will also go up.

Why was "day without car" enacted?

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San Francisco Chronicle, August 13, 1991

Power Drought

Guatemala, Nicaragua and El Salvador began rationing electricity because of a lack of rain needed to power hydroelectric plants. Each nation has plans to black out parts of its population on a rotating basis for two to three hours a day. In drought-stricken Guatemala, the National Electricity Institute said its new rationing program will continue through September and may be extended if rains do not return soon.

What might be the effects of extended electricity rationing?

BACKGROUNDER ON THE GUATEMALAN EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE

By Armando de la Torre

Guatemala is a Central-American nation-state of which a third of its population is pure Indians of Mayan descent. The majority (roughly 65%) are "Ladinos", that is, people of mixed blood or those of Indians blood who have adopted European ways. The balance are mostly whites, with a scattering of Africans in the Caribbean basin eastern sea-shore (around Livingston).

Statistically, every three years about one percent of the total population crosses the line from the Indian community into the Ladino. At this pace, Guatemala will be totally a Ladino country by the year 2,020, somewhat like México today.

All the social indexes--years of schooling, health, per capita income, and life expectancy--are severly skewed; Indians show up in the worst condition in each respect.

However, family desintegration is more widespread among Ladinos than among Indians who stick to their customs.

Geographically, the country is divided in four distinct regions:

1. The highlands to the Northwest, where the bulk of the Indian population lives; 2. The souther plains, the most fertile of all soils, currently the breadbasket of the country; 3. The Eastern middle Ladino region, overlooking the Caribbean basin; and 4. The very sparsely populated North, the Petén department, the craddle of ancient Mayan civilization. To these we could add Greater Guatemala-City, with about the two million inhabitants, and heavily westernized.

Elementary education has been compulsory and free since the 1875 Constitution, but the Government has never come close to its goal of total literacy. Indeed, about 45% of the adult population remains illiterate, and roughly the same portion of children of school age do not have access to any formal education at all.

Of those who attend schools, about 16% attend private, mostly Catholic, elementary schools, and 55% are enrolled in private secondary schools. The private school system is widely perceived as qualitatively vastly superior to the public schools.

There are five Universities in Guatemala. The largest and most wealthy--San Carlos University--is run by the Government; the other four are private. There are only three vocational schools in the whole country, which makes for an educational black hole at the intermediate level of professional training.

The quality of education varies much, depending on the strictness of controls by the Government; the worst are those run exclusively by the national Ministry of Education from the Capital City.

In general, there is too much reliance on memorization and almost no emphasis on research.

The vocabulary of the general population is poorer than in any other Latin american country, probably owing to the influence of the large Indian population which does not speak Spanish or speaks it very poorely.

This fact is reflected in the quality of the mass media and the writing of students papers at all levels, including the graduate level.

There are noticeable exceptions; this Marroquín University is one, as well as some private schools run by foreigners like the American, French and Austrian elementary and secondary schools in Guatemala City.

The largest "item" in the Government budget is education, but the largest percentage is absorbed by the bureaucrats of the educational establishment. Moreover, teachers are heavily politicized, and the philosophy of the official educational establishment has been influenced by the class perspective which caracterizes Marxist thought. Teachers are generaly poorly paid.

Those in the private sector of the educational process have been indirectly forced to subsidize parents since 1971 through a Government-mandated cap on tuition fees.

In these circumstances, the best teachers flee from the schools and look for employment elsewhere in other areas of the economy.

The system is full of privileges enjoyed by pressure groups; merits and results are not usually taken into account when it comes to rewarding teachers.

For instance, teachers at the secondary level are required to have three years at college education level; those who are at the elementary level are required to have none.

Given the difference in income between elementary education teachers and that for secondary education teachers, there is a heavy migration of teachers from elementary to secondary schools, which accounts for the poverty of instructions in basic skills.

The situation is always worst in the rural areas, where most Indians live; and so, the gap in education between those living in the country side and those living in the cities continues to grow.

I must add, however, that there is much voluntary work being done by many well meaning people, but this is done in a rather haphazard fashion.

This explains why the educational problems of Guatemala have stagnated for the last 30 years. Unless there is a freer atmosphere for education iniciatives, I don´t see much probability of improvement.

Guatemala, july 30, 1991

1. What are the consequences of this educational system?
2. What is fact and what is opinion?
3. What is his bias?

In a democracy we're all supposed to be equal before the law, but in Honduras the rich are more equal than the poor. In a democracy if you break the law you're supposed to get punished, right? But here in Honduras the rich don't get punished, only the poor. The rich don't go to jail when they kill campesinos or labor leaders. The rich don't go to jail when they violate the Agrarian Reform Law. The rich don't go to jail when they steal from the people. No, the law only applies to the poor.

They say we have a democracy in Honduras, because when there's not a coup we have elections every four years. But democracy means more than just elections. Democracy means that all people have the same rights. Democracy means that we all have the same opportunities, that we all have the right to live a decent life. Maybe there's democracy for the rich, but certainly not for the poor.

Another thing about a democratic country is that you're supposed to have the right to say what you want. Isn't that part of a democracy? But here in Honduras there's no freedom of speech. Look what happens to people who protest against the government, or against the contra camps and the gringo bases in our country. The only day we get to say things openly is on May 1st, which is International Workers' Day. All the popular organizations march through the streets and shout whatever we feel like shouting.

But even then we're in trouble. Look what happened to the union leader Cristóbal Pérez. He was a great leader, because his goal was to try to unite the different worker and campesino groups. On May 1, 1986, he led a big march in which all the different groups participated. And at the rally he spoke out against U.S. and contra troops in Honduras. Well, a week later, he was shot dead in front of his house. So that's why people are afraid to say what they think.

Another thing a democratic government has to do is take care of the people. It has to spend money on things that make people's lives better. Here the government spends more money on the military than it does on health and education. Last year, while millions of Hondurans are sick and illiterate, they cut the budgets for education and health. Why? So there'd be more money to buy more weapons, more airplanes, more tanks.

Here all the money goes for the military. All the money goes for the rich. And we poor Hondurans? Malnourished, without land to work, without jobs, without education. Is that a democracy?

Elvia Alvarado, Don't Be Afraid, Gringo pp. 117-120.

1. Do you agree with her definition of democracy?
2. According to her definition, do we have democracy in the U.S.? Why? Why not?

1. Compare her idea of democracy with Elvia Alvarado's.
2. On what other points (i.e. aid, foreign investment, etc.) can they be compared?
3. Are their solutions the same? Why or why not.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL FRIDAY, AUGUST 10, 1990

Guatemalans Chastised for Making Up Their Own Minds

The Americas

By Marta Altolaguirre

GUATEMALA CITY – Guatemala has taken center stage over other Central American stories because of the emergence of former de facto military dictator Efrain Rios Montt as a possible candidate in the November presidential elections. Reporters and analysts seem particularly eager to point to this phenomenon as proof that Guatemalans have given up on democracy. Some even assert the racist argument that perhaps Guatemalans simply aren't capable of handling democracy.

What these analysts are ignoring is that the policies that they themselves have advocated (and very often imposed) in the name of "democracy" have been neither democratic nor enriching for any except the few local proxies who mouth what outsiders want to hear. Now that these proxies have been exposed as inept in all matters save corruption, the people want to throw them out and turn to the so-called hard-liners–not in a military coup, mind you, but in an open election. And the "civilized" world is aghast.

When Latin American independence was declared, most of our territories remained under the influence of the motherland for several decades. This situation would have been justified for a short period of time until the right concept of a republic was found and established in each particular territory. But it so happened that domination lasted for many decades with disastrous results.

In these times, foreign hegemony comes from an unchallenged determination of the First World countries to impose on Third World nations their own vision of a democratic system. If we fail to make the passing grade–that is, if those approved of by the foreign "experts" are not elected or re-elected–the penalty is applied: media condemnation followed by isolation.

Local Christian Democrats and Socialists share a statist vision of governing and are usually the only candidates for office acceptable to the outsiders. They are financed by foreign funds sent by political organizations abroad. This type of financing–massive by local standards–has often overwhelmed other candidates and determined the final result of elections. The definition of democracy then boils down to the single act of electing a leader propped up with foreign funding. Democracy does not become a process by which men govern, but a license to do whatever the elected want once they're in office. And in these circumstances, the road to power is opened to some of the worst elements in our societies.

Illegal activities–even including drug trafficking and related activities–carried out by those in power have become an everyday problem here. Unfortunately, most of our legal institutions do not provide a procedure by which an elected president can be separated from power through a legal action, except in the event of mental illness. Officials can mismanage public funds, act irresponsibly or promote a chaotic situation for the whole nation, but the citizens are unable to make them accountable. A "Watergate" is not possible in a country like Guatemala, though much worse events have taken place during the administration of Christian Democrat Vinicio Cerezo.

And all these abuses have taken place at the expense of the poorest people, in whose interests the "acceptable" democrats claim to govern. A litany of just some of their abuses and the consequent results follows:

- They stress the importance of paying taxes but evade their own contribution through an additional stipend called *confidenciales* (confidential expenditures): money that is granted without having to justify how it was spent. President Cerezo received last year the amount of 180 million quetzales from such an account; in 1988 the amount came to 150 million, though he recently insisted on local television that a realistic figure was closer to "just" 100 million quetzales (equal to about $25 million).
- The foreign minister, aside from his salary, representation expenses and confidenciales, received $1,000 per diem no matter where he spent his working days.

> *Democracy has not become a process by which men govern, but a license to do whatever they want once they're in office.*

- Donations and loans coming from the U.S. government through the Agency for International Development have been grossly mishandled. More than $2 million are unacounted for in funds given by AID, which would have benefited children severely affected by malnutrition and illnesses.
- The quetzal has reached a point of devaluation almost as low as it was before this government took over. It is now evident that an artificial stabilization had been achieved through the assistance provided by the U.S. and some European governments that support the Christian Democrats in Central America. Even then, all the external aid and financing have not been enough to cover up this government's excessive spending habits. One dollar was worth 3.78 quetzales last October. Now the value has gone down to 4.35 and is still on its way down, even though the amount of dollars in circulation is at its peak this time of the year when payment of our most important export goods takes place.
- The fiscal deficit increased three times from 1985 to 1988, and by 1990 it became the highest in the history of the country. Per-capita income has dropped in real terms to its 1969 level. According to statistics supplied by Asazgua, the private association of sugar planters, the price of basic products consumed by Guatemalans–black beans, corn and rice–has increased more than 500% from 1985 to 1990. That means most of the population is far poorer that it was throughout all the years when the government was controlled by the authoritarian groups that took power by force.
- State hospitals, roads and public schools are in ruins due to the fact that no money has been spent on their maintenance. Paper is used instead of bandages to wipe away blood during surgery. People die because they lack the necessary funds to pay for high-priced medicines, which are no longer supplied by the government.

Of course we do have a new class of millionaires–those part-time socialists and part-time capitalists who are pampered by foreign countries no matter what they do and no matter how destructive they are so long as they talk pretty and uphold the principle of democracy–that is, *an election*.

Meanwhile, the voters with their simple rationale think that the solution will come from an authoritarian president, who this time might be elected through a democratic process. They hope that this new president will be given the chance to work things out with as much international support as the populist demagogues who have governed the country the past four and a half years. Can anyone except the most reality-blind ideologue really blame them?

Ms. Altolaguirre is an attorney, columnist and a professor at the Francisco Marroquin University in Guatemala City.

West chided for opposing East Asian grouping

Rich man, poor man

1. What are some reasons Malaysia would be sensitive to being "told" what to do?

2. Do you think Mahatir is right?

By Susumu Awanohara in Washington

Malaysian Prime Minister Datuk Seri Mahathir Mohamad has no intention of backing down from his idea to form a new economic grouping in East Asia, which is being opposed most openly by the US.

True to form, Mahathir, in a UN General Assembly speech in New York on 24 September, struck out at, among others, the five permanent member states of the UN Security Council for being "more equal than others," the Group of Seven industrialised economies for "adversely [affecting] the economies of others," and individuals and the press of developed countries who "consider it their right to tell us how to rule our country."

Mahathir lashes US in UN speech.

But the US got the worst lashing, particularly for opposing Mahathir's proposal to form an East Asian Economic Grouping (EAEG) and insisting that the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation is the best way to further economic integration. "In East Asia we are told that we may not call ourselves East Asians as Europeans call themselves Europeans and Americans call themselves Americans. We are told that we must call ourselves Pacific people and align ourselves with people who are only partly Pacific, but more American, Atlantic and European," Mahathir said.

He returned to EAEG towards the end of the speech, arguing that it was a way to give voice to "tiny insignificant Third World [countries]" in Gatt negotiations where "the huge trade blocs monopolise the meetings." EAEG is meant as a forum to reach agreement on a common stand vis-a-vis problems "caused by the restrictive trade practices of the rich."

Mahathir went on: "We are perplexed to find that this objective . . . is being opposed openly and covertly by the very country which preaches free trade" — an obvious reference to the US. It was even more surprising, he said, that there should be such opposition when the North American Free Trade Agreement itself is being formed on the principle of the right of free association of independent countries. "Can it be that what is right and proper for the rich and the powerful is not right or proper for the poor? One is tempted to suspect racist bias behind this stand."

The US has not yet responded officially to Mahathir's speech, but privately at least some US officials are displeased. Mahathir and US Secretary of State James Baker met in Kuala Lumpur in July and agreed to disagree on such issues as EAEG and how to deal with the political situation in Burma.

But they also agreed to avoid belabouring the differences and to seek areas of cooperation, sources say. In the wake of the Philippine Senate's decision to reject the bases agreement with the US, the Malaysian military is said to have indicated interest in cooperating with Washington.

One US official speculated that Mahathir was unhappy because his EAEG idea was not winning support among East Asian countries, "though the Asians are too polite to reject it outright." Another speculation is that Mahathir was annoyed at the persistent arm-twisting done by the US during the Gulf crisis when Washington was eager to win as much support for its position as possible in the UN Security Council, of which Malaysia is currently a non-permanent member.

A showdown appears unavoidable. Mahathir's speech came one day after US Trade Representative Carla Hills once again expressed opposition to the EAEG proposal. She said: "In our view, the Pacific rim can best prosper by continuing to open markets and promote trade growth both inside and outside the region, and avoid risky and unpredictable schemes allegedly designed to enhance economic leverage." Hills is scheduled to visit Malaysia in mid-October on her 10-day tour of Asia. ■

GROUP OF 100

A LATIN AMERICAN ECOLOGICAL ALLIANCE*

The main thrust of this proposal is ecological. Many other areas of concern for development are mentioned as related. What are they?

On the eve of the 500th anniversary of the meeting of two worlds and two natural realms, as we near the end of the 20th century and the second millennium, the Earth is experiencing its worst ecological crisis in history — a crisis that not only threatens the existence of thousands of plant and animal species but the survival of the human species as well. For this reason the issue of the environment cannot be ignored at the first summit of the 19 Latin American presidents, nor can our countries afford to be absent when global decisions are taken to protect humankind's natural heritage. That is why we, men and women of letters from Latin America, propose that our heads of state create a Latin American Ecological Alliance whose goal is to protect and preserve our nations' biological diversity, working together in those areas where cooperation is feasible.

We know that almost half the world's tropical forests have disappeared: that between 16 and 20 million hectares are permanently cleared each year and a species becomes extinct every hour; that by the year 2000 three-quarters of America's tropical forests may have been felled and 50 percent of their species lost forever. What Nature created in the course of millions of years will be destroyed by us in little more than 40 years. While the world wonders if there is any future for tropical forests, we wonder if there is any future for us and for the world. An awareness of the consequences of natural resource depletion and environmental damage has already made its way into the Latin American consciousness: No nation on our continent can escape their negative effects.

Latin America has much to save: 58 percent of the world's remaining 900 million hectares of tropical forest are here, one-third of them in Brazil alone; Panama is home to as many plant species as the whole of Europe; the Tambopata Reserved Zone in Peru is the richest bird and butterfly habitat in the world; the plants and animals found on the *tepuis* in Venezuela are natural treasures; the Lacandon rain forest is the largest in North America; not only does one-fifth of the world's freshwater flow through the Amazon River Basin every day, but one-fifth of all bird species are found in Amazon forests. Mexico and Colombia are among the four countries in the world with the greatest diversity of flora and fauna.

Because we realise there are many environmental problems and we understand the difficulties facing our national economies, we shall limit our proposals to a few specific concerns. First and foremost is the protection of our tropical and temperate forests, threatened with destruction throughout the continent, from the lenga forests on Tierra del Fuego in Chile to the virgin forests in the Sierra de Chihuahua in Mexico.

One initiative which could be launched during the meeting in Guadalajara would be the creation of an Amazonian Pact among the South American countries which share the world's richest and most complex ecosystem and its most extensive genetic resources. The mere possibility of seeing this natural endowment of humankind — and especially of Latin Americans — go up in smoke and become a wasteland is intolerable. An environmental loss of that magnitude would be a catastrophe for the entire planet, for life on Earth does not recognize borders.

Mexico and Guatemala share the ruins of Mayan civilization, the Usumacinta River and the vast tropical forest which covers the state of Chiapas and El Petén. When the Mayans flourished during the first millennium of our era, the Usumacinta River was an important means of cultural communication and the cities on its banks controlled large areas on both shores. To ensure the preservation of the region's environment, a binational ecoarchaeological park should be created which would encompass both sides of the river. This park could serve as a model for other joint projects in border areas as well as complementing current conservation programs such as the Montes Azules Biosphere Reserve.

The maintenance and protection of biodiversity must be a primary objective of interAmerican environmental cooperation. Within this framework an agreement should be negotiated for the protection of sea turtles along their migratory routes, for no single nation can effectively conserve these species but a single nation can destroy them. A basic agreement would recognize the migratory nature of the sea turtle species along the east Pacific, from Chile to Mexico, and along the Caribbean and Atlantic coasts. The accord would establish a commission of marine biologists, conservationists and government representatives charged with preparing a report on the present situation of the sea turtle, indicating what needs to be done nationally and regionally and a list of priority actions with recommendations for their implementation and support.

In regard to migratory birds, America's main flyway cuts across eastern Mexico, crosses Central America and continues into the Amazon. A huge concentration of birds follows that route every year. Another important route extends down the Pacific Coast from Canada and some species press as far south as Chile and Argentina. There is no country in Latin America through which birds do not fly in major migrations, including such species as the bobolink, the peregrine falcon, the blue-winged teal, Swainson's hawk, snipes and other shorebirds. We are alarmed by the impending loss of biological diversity in our continent and we ask our presidents to protect migrating birds by promoting the establishment of sanctuaries at the stop-over sites and wintering areas of these species. Each country would determine what measures it would take to comply. The habitats in need of protection include wetlands, beaches, islands, forests, prairies and deserts.

Every year millions of tons of hazardous wastes are exported to Latin America, which has become the favorite dumping ground for toxic wastes generated by American, European and Japanese companies. Seventy-eight percent of these emanate from the United States. Most of the waste is shipped to countries in the Caribbean or Central America, or to Brazil, Argentina and Mexico — countries which already have enough problems dealing with their own wastes without having to cope with imports. Most of the shipments consist of nuclear waste, organic chemicals, toxic liquids, incinerator ash, heavy metals, lubricants, paint and sludge. International waste trade is on the rise, frequently illegal and often camouflaged as "recycling" — polluting the environment and endangering human life and our ecosystems for countless decades.

Given the difficulty of monitoring the quantity, nature and ultimate destination of these wastes, we ask that the traffic and transport of hazardous and nuclear wastes across borders be banned throughout the continent. We call for the enactment of national and international legislation on this matter. Our standards and laws should be as strict as those in the highly developed countries. Latin America must not become the waste dump of the industrialized world.

On the Earth's map it is possible to draw another map: a map of the forests and jungles which are disappearing before our very eyes. And on that map of deforestation and depredation we can draw yet another map: the map of peoples threatened by the destruction of their environment. There we find the Yanomami and the Apinaye in Brazil, the Aché in Paraguay, the Yagua and the Amuesha in Peru, the Miskito in Nicaragua, the Guaymi and Kuna in Panama, the Maya in Guatemala, the Paez and Guambiano in Colombia, the Mapuche in Chile, the Lacandon Maya and the Tarahumara in Mexico. Unrestrained logging, cattle ranching, resettlement programs and forcible expulsion from their lands to make way for mining interests, timber extractors and ranchers, the threat of economic slavery, road-building and hydroelectric schemes, mass tourism projects — all have an impact on these groups.

As we approach the quincentenary of the encounter of two worlds, the inclusion of our indigenous peoples in our governments' economic development plans must become a priority. All too often the destruction of their environment entails the violation of their human rights as they lose their habitat and their means of sustenance, their social systems and their religious practices. Before the arrival of the Europeans, the pre-Colombian peoples from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego lived off their ecosystems without destroying them, and they have an historical right to continue doing so.

Messrs. Presidents: We are part of a global problem which requires global solutions. It is imperative that we formulate an environmental policy which will effectively protect our rich biological diversity. We are certain that whatever agreement you may reach for the creation of a Latin American Ecological Alliance, and the concomitant political decisions taken to implement such an Alliance in each of your countries, will benefit present and future generations of Latin Americans. It will also serve as an example to be followed by heads of state on other continents. Environmental considerations have a place on any agenda which addresses the future of humankind.

Octavio Paz (Mexico)
Jorge Amado (Brazil)
Adolfo Bioy Casares (Argentina)
Arturo Uslar Pietri (Venezuela)
Severo Sarduy (Cuba)
Augusto Monterroso (Guatemala)
Roberto Juárroz (Argentina)
José Donoso (Chile)
Emilio Adolfo Westphalen (Peru)
Carlos Monsivais (Mexico)

Gabriel García Márquez (Colombia)
Juan Carlos Onetti (Uruguay)
Carlos Fuentes (Mexico)
Nélida Piñón (Brazil)
Olga Orozco (Argentina)
Claribel Alegría (El Salvador)
Luis Cardoza y Aragón (Guatemala)
Mario Benedetti (Uruguay)
José Emilio Pacheco (Mexico)
Enrique Molina (Argentina)

Homero Aridjis (Mexico)
Ernesto Sábato (Argentina)
Augusto Roa Bastos (Paraguay)
Nicanor Parra (Chile)
João Cabral de Melo Neto (Brazil)
Isabel Allende (Chile)
Fernando del Paso (Mexico)
Alvaro Mutis (Colombia)
Gonzalo Rojas (Chile)
Eliseo Diego (Cuba)

**Proposal delivered to the 19 Latin American presidents by Gabriel García Márquez and Homero Aridjis on the occasion of the First Ibero-American Summit, Mexico, July 19, 1991.*

■ UPDATE/*El Salvador*

Peace Talks: A Leap Forward?

SUMMARY: A fresh round of negotiations, aimed at ending the civil war that has claimed more than 75,000 lives, begins today at the United Nations.

San Salvador

Like the bride and groom in a shotgun wedding, the president of El Salvador and top rebel leaders come together in New York this week. The United Nations secretary-general called the meeting in an attempt to revive negotiations to end the 11-year civil war that has cost more than 75,000 lives.

The U.N.-mediated effort has been going on for 17 months. Many people hoped for a definitive peace treaty last April, when an initiative on proposed constitutional changes offered by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) — an umbrella group of five leftist groups — was seriously, but unsuccessfully, discussed.

Although President Alfredo Cristiani has accepted Javier Perez de Cuellar's invitation to New York, he has refused to meet the guerrillas face to face. Perez de Cuellar's special representative, Alvaro de Soto, has been traveling back and forth across Central America, mediating between the two sides; but the talks have become stuck over the future of the guerrillas and the U.S.-backed armed forces.

The FMLN seeks a guarantee for its security after it puts down its weapons. The guerrillas have little faith in the army acting in a professional manner after a cease-fire. The soldiers' abuse of civil law and their disregard for civilian authority contributed to the start, and to the embittering of the civil war. Aware of their impunity before the law, members of the armed forces carried out the wholesale murder of thousands of their opponents.

EL SALVADOR TALKS

AT A GLANCE

U.N.-sponsored talks are stuck over the future of the guerrillas and the government's armed forces. Their positions:

- **The government:** Asserts that ostensibly peaceful left-wing factions are supporting the guerrillas militarily.
- **The rebels:** Claim that the government does not yet accept their right to undertake nonviolent political action and continues human-rights abuses.

Christian Science Monitor

The worst excesses of the armed forces may now have ended, but the FMLN is fearful of a resurgence of political murders after a cease-fire. The rebel leaders have proposed either demilitarization of the country, the fusion of the guerrillas into the army or, at the least, the integration of guerrilla officers into the army's main units.

Cristiani has said the government is prepared to pare down the armed forces, separate the paramilitary police from the army and create an independent civilian police force. But his government has dismissed the other demands as unacceptable.

Still, government policy could shift with what appears to be the imminent death of Roberto D'Aubuisson, founder of the ruling ARENA party and credited with making most of its important decisions. Given D'Aubuisson's reputation — he has been frequently accused of organizing death squads in the early 1980s — government policy since Cristiani's 1989 election have been unexpectedly moderate.

Unfortunately, the virtually nonfunctioning criminal-justice system is a reminder of the de facto immunity for continuing repression. Rebel leader Ruben Zamora charges — with accuracy — that many in the government do not yet accept the rights of left-oriented parties, unions and cooperatives to undertake nonviolent political action.

The army responds, also with accuracy, that some of those organizations are supporting the guerrillas militarily.

At best the two sides may come out of this week's meeting with an agreement to approach negotiations in a different way. Instead of trying to reach a cease-fire followed by a period of further negotiations during an "armed peace," they may agree to try to complete all discussion before silencing the guns.

The guns are at present far from silent. The army, drafting in extra reservists, has been on an offensive throughout the year, campaigning deep into rebel-dominated areas.

The rebel response has so far been muted. Fighting has been largely in the countryside. But the recent discovery in San Salvador of a weapons cache, including ground-to-air missiles, suggests that the guerrillas may be considering an attack on army bases in the capital.

The various factions that make up the FMLN may not yet have agreed on an offensive. But if the talks remain blocked, it will probably be only a matter of time before they do.

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San Francisco Chronicle, September 24, 1991

After reading the three articles, state what institutions need to be strengthened to limit the power of the military and the police.

■ MEXICO

Mexican Jail Torture Widespread, Group Says

London — Torture of prisoners is almost routine in Mexico, and detainees are at risk from the minute they are picked up by the police or army, Amnesty International said yesterday.

"Despite the seriousness of the problem, the Mexican authorities are doing little to put an effective stop to torture and ill treatment," Amnesty International said.

The London-based human-rights group said that it had received reports of more than 200 cases of torture in Mexico over the past two years and that it believes the true figure is much higher

San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 19, 199

PROFILE/*Jorge Serrano*

Guatemalan Leader Breaks With Military

HIGHLIGHTS: Since being elected in January, Serrano has defied predictions that his administration would coddle the armed forces.

By Kenneth Freed
Los Angeles Times

Guatemala City

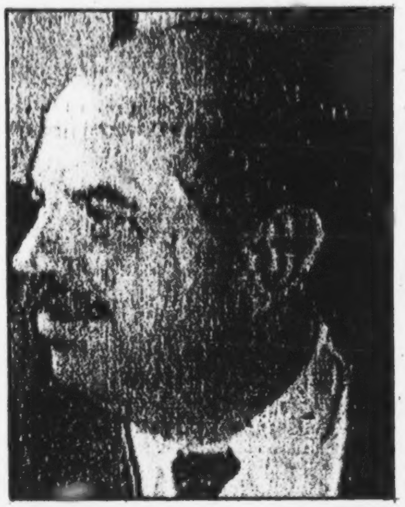
One day last month, Guatemalan President Jorge Serrano flew to the Pacific coast port of San Jose Escuintla to have lunch with the commander of that city's naval base and the captain of a visiting American warship. By all accounts, Serrano was relaxed and jovial.

Two hours after his helicopter had returned him to the capital, Serrano ordered the arrest of the amiable base commander, Navy Captain Anibal Giron Arriola, and six of his men, for the August 9 murder of 11 truck drivers and customs agents allegedly engaged in smuggling.

On the surface, the arrests were a major statement by the president of his independence from the country's traditionally dominant military and the impunity the armed forces have long enjoyed — no matter the crime.

Over the last three years, Guatemalan military, security and private right-wing death squads have killed or kidnapped people at a rate of three a day, with almost no one arrested, let alone punished. It is a level of human rights horror unparalleled in Central America and has brought a virtual end to U.S. military aid to Guatemala.

While the level of deaths and disappearances actually has increased under Serrano, most observers here think he is the first president to try to stop the abuses and punish those committing the murders — something he said was accomplished in arresting Giron.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Guatemalan President Jorge Serrano

The reality was a bit harsher. It took three increasingly specific orders for Serrano to get military officials to actually take the accused naval officer into custody, and the result was a short-lived but determined revolt by some of Giron's men.

The incident showed that for all his reputed determination, the 46-year-old president, eight months in office, still faces a very complex and dangerous course where his every step will probably be opposed by previous supporters used to getting their way. It will be a severe test for a man who friends and foes say dislikes opposition.

"To be fair," said Jorge Skinner Klee, the head of one of Guatemala's oldest and most powerful families and a leader of the opposition in Congress, "Serrano is trying to do things. He is rather sophisticated and understands the modern state."

"The problem with Serrano," added Skinner Klee, "is his authoritarianism. He wants to be a dictator. He is stubborn, has a mean streak and is very vindictive."

But to a European diplomat who is close to the president, the stocky, balding Guatemalan leader is "a very thoughtful, very determined, very well-intentioned man. He has made a good start in trying to rein in the army and bring peace to his country."

The son of one of Guatemala's most powerful Catholic politicians, Serrano has switched both his religious and political allegiances more than once.

As a young man, he joined the centrist Christian Democratic Party, which was the country's only cohesive opposition to a series of military governments that had ruled the country for more than 30 years. But by the late 1970s, he found the Christian Democrats too leftist. In 1982, he was named a member of the three-man Council of State under the rightist General Efrain Rios Montt.

By 1985, when Guatemala held its first democratic election in more than three decades, Serrano ran for president as a front man for Rios Montt. He was crushed in the first round, receiving only 15 percent of the vote.

Meanwhile, Serrano was also becoming more fundamentalist in his religious convictions. He converted to the Baptist faith and then to a Pentecostal sect while a graduate student in the United States. After the 1985 defeat, Serrano switched to an even more fundamentalist evangelical group.

All the while, Serrano was cultivating political contacts throughout the United States and Central America. Thus, this onetime rubber stamp for a bloody dictator became an official observer to ensure the legitimacy of elections in Panama and Nicaragua.

Serrano formed his own political party and ran for president again, winning a lopsided victory last January on a pro-military, pro-business and anti-American platform.

But for those who predicted an administration that would coddle the armed forces, overlook their bloody human rights record and involvement in corruption, and continue baiting the Americans, Serrano proved a surprise.

He quickly proclaimed four goals, Serrano recalled during an interview outside his office in the Presidential House: social and economic justice, an end to the 30-year civil war, an end to military and government-sponsored human rights abuses and an improvement in the democratic system.

"My message was not a single step backward. There will be no impunity," he recalled.

To back up that challenge to a military unaccustomed to control, Serrano fired the commander whom he inherited when he took office and installed a more supportive officer.

This was followed by not only the Giron arrest but also the capture of several other military officers and men accused of killing an American owner of a country inn in what had been one of the sharpest points of contention with the United States.

"I am really commander-in-chief of the army," he said during the 90-minute interview. "I make my own decisions ... and certainly I am taking responsibility."

During the presidential campaign, Serrano repeatedly criticized the United States for allegedly interfering in Guatemala's internal affairs by attacking the country's human rights record and cutting military aid, but his emphasis has changed since taking office.

He immediately acted in the case of the murdered American hotel owner and increased Guatemalan cooperation in the U.S. campaign to control narcotics trafficking. And he cut back his anti-American slogans, so much so that he is scheduled for an official visit in Washington later this month.

San Francisco Chronicle, September 30, 1991

Seen painted on the rock faces along the road from the airport to San Salvador:

A child has the right to the love of his parents.

BRING DOWN INFANT MORTALITY!

A CHILD HAS THE RIGHT TO KINDERGARTEN AND PRIMARY EDUCATION.

A child has the right to the special protection of family, state and society.

NO ON DRUGS!

A life without AIDS--be faithful to your partner.

1. What are the values being promoted in these signs?

2. If the government is successful in its campaign, how will this help development?

Quotes from Elvia Alvarado, Don't Be Afraid, Gringo.

"The church wanted us to give out food to malnourished children, but they didn't want us to question why they were malnourished to begin with." p.10.

"Most campesinos don't have houses. They have ranchos, which are made of bamboo, sugar cane, or corn stalks." p. 18.

"Married or not married, it's the same life. It's very common for men to simply leave their wives and children and start a new family elsewhere." p. 40.

"When campesinos organize and have a plot of land to farm, they spend the day working in the hot sun. And they don't have time for drinking any more." p. 50.

"There's nothing more important than getting an education. But I'm not very happy with the kind of education the kids are getting here in Honduras." p. 58.

"You read in the paper, 'Campesinos invade such and such a piece of land.' That's not true. We don't invade land, we recover land that belongs to us by law but was invaded by the big landowners or the foreign companies." p. 66.

"It's often a tough battle to win the women over. But once you get them organized, they change overnight." p. 84.

"We're not going to solve our problems through handouts. Until we change the system all the charity in the world won't take us out of poverty." p. 100.

"Since I'm not willing to stop my organizing work, I'm sure someday I'll be captured again. Every time I leave my house, I'm not sure whether I'll come back again." p. 126.

1. What are the problems according to Elvia?
2. Does she, as a campesina, see the same problems as members of the elite or the U.S. press?

Lesson 6

Goal: To familiarize students with the U.S. perspective of developing countries while improving their analytical skills.

Objectives:

*Students will identify issues of concern to U.S. in relation to the developing countries as determined by the news media.

*Students will identify points of view.

*Students will speculate what U.S. interests are served by these concerns.

Materials: Newspapers, OECD list of developing countries, students' list of development criteria.

Procedure:

1. Each student is given a newspaper. (A class set may be used or newspapers can be a mixture of different papers and different dates.)
2. Students identify articles in their paper that deal with developing countries.
3. Students read articles underlining key words or sentences that they feel indicate the newsworthiness of the articles and issues that affect development.
4. Students label the issues in terms of their development criteria: for example, political stability, human rights, sanitation.
5. Students identify sources of the news reported and opinions given, noting whether these are U.S., native or other sources.
6. Students quantify how many times different issues are mentioned.
7. The class shares their discoveries.
8. Teacher leads discussion of why students feel the major U.S. concerns are what they are.

Extension: If many non-U.S. sources are quoted other points of view could be compared to the U.S. perspective.

Lesson 7

Objectives:

*Students will become aware that their actions and their government's actions affect development in the Third World.

*Students will speculate on solutions.

Materials: Articles, Bibliography.

Procedure:

1. Class reads articles and discusses together some possible solutions to development problems through governmental policy, corporate action, non-governmental organization projects and individual efforts.

2. Class divides into four groups. Each group chooses one of the four areas for action.

3. Group conducts research (Bibliography can be used as a starting point.) Group produces a presentation on solutions possible through actions of their group. Ideas for presentations include, but are not limited to, a bulletin board/billboard, a poster series, a video, a series of radio spots, a panel discussion/news analysis.

4. Class views the presentations, discusses their merits and their drawbacks.

Mexico Takes Its Medicine

Amnesty International's reports about countries' human rights practices are more often than not met by seething denunciations from the governments involved.

But this isn't true for Mexico, which this week was the subject of an Amnesty report saying that torture by law enforcement agents is commonplace in the country. Mexico's calm official reaction, which stopped just short of praising the report, shows how President Carlos Salinas de Gortari is trying to change Mexico and how important he recognizes U.S. and Canadian public opinion will be in determining the success of his plans.

The three nations are in the early stages of negotiations on creating a North American free trade zone, a new relationship that would transform Mexico's economy and force it to live up to higher standards on human rights. If a pact is reached, Salinas knows that continued human rights abuses will give opponents in the U.S. Congress a weapon to use against the treaty.

"Salinas wants to move Mexico into the First World, but the country still follows practices related to the Third World," says **Magdaleno Rose-Avila**, Amnesty's Western regional director. "Mexico is in a very vulnerable position. It has a high visibility because of its economic dealings with the United States and Canada."

The detailed Amnesty report says the main problem in Mexico is that torturers still aren't prosecuted. The country's attorney general responded by announcing the arrest of a dozen federal policemen implicated in torture and murder cases. In a statement, the government called the report "very valuable" and said it had prompted a review of police practices. However, the government denied torture is widespread.

Rose-Avila gives Salinas credit for starting a National Commission on Human Rights but faults him for not giving the panel enough independence or investigative power. He also faults the U.S. government for not pressuring Salinas to clean up the problem of police brutality and torture. "The United States and Canada are in a perfect position to pressure the government to take the necessary steps," he says.

International Pressure

Salvador Jury Urged to Find Soldiers Guilty

Associated Press

San Salvador

A prosecutor yesterday urged jurors to end years of army impunity by convicting nine military men of the 1989 murder of six Jesuit priests and two women.

Prosecutor Sidney Blanco called on the five-member jury "to finally make justice a reality in our country."

"We have the opportunity to demonstrate to the military men, to the colonels, that they too are subordinate to civilian rule and subject to the law," said Blanco.

The trial, which opened Thursday, breaks new ground in bringing alleged human rights violators to justice in El Salvador's 12-year-old civil war. Most of the war's 75,000 victims are civilians who allegedly were slain by right-wing, military-led death squads.

Although the military has been implicated in the abduction, torture and murder of thousands of suspected leftists, this week's trial is the first time in memory that military officers have appeared before a civilian court on murder charges.

Five national guard soldiers were sentenced by a similar court to the maximum of 30 years' imprisonment for the 1980 rape and murder of six Roman Catholic women church workers.

The Bush administration and Congress have made successful prosecution of the Jesuits' killers a condition for continued U.S. aid to El Salvador.

Only observers from the university, diplomats and foreign delegates, relatives of the defendants, and about 30 journalists were allowed into the courtroom. Two hundred police armed with assault rifles stand guard outside.

To keep the jurors from being threatened, or worse, Judge Ricardo Zamora of the 4th Criminal Court chose them secretly and has kept them hidden from public view during the trial to prevent their identification.

Under the Salvadoran legal process, witnesses and new evidence are not included in the trial. Instead the jury hears a summation of compiled evidence, then the lawyers for both sides have nine hours each to summarize their cases.

The evidence from which the summary is compiled in this case totals about 6,000 pages. The case could go to the jury this weekend.

Army Colonel Guillermo Benavides, three lieutenants and four soldiers are on trial. A ninth enlisted man is a fugitive and is being tried in absence.

Thursday's session was taken up by procedural matters, mostly the reading of charges and pre-trial evidence until Zamora recessed it in the evening.

Benavides, who was director of the National Military College when the priests were slain on the night of Nov. 16, 1989, is accused of ordering the killings and having the perpetrators wipe out all evidence. The maximum penalty is 30 years in prison.

San Francisco Chronicle, September 20, 1991 and September 28, 1991.

A Commercial Solution

New Effort to Save Tropical Forests

Pact on natural chemical 'prospecting'

By Charles Petit

Chronicle Science Writer

International sales of drugs derived from wild species could help save tropical forests in Costa Rica, under a novel agreement that scientists and the world's biggest pharmaceutical company announced yesterday.

Framers of the deal hope it is the prototype of an international system for "chemical prospecting" in wild areas throughout the world, and returning to countries of origin a share of any profits from medicine, solvents, paints, or other substances derived from natural sources.

Supporters say the countries will then use the money to maintain wild areas as sources of continuous revenue more profitable than wide-scale cutting of forests for ranches or timber.

In a contract with a government-sponsored research institute in Costa Rica, the giant Merck & Co. Inc. agreed to study specimens of plants, insects, and other species from the Central American nation's forests as possible pharmaceutical sources. If it finds new sources, the drug company, which has annual sales of more than $7 billion, will pay royalties to Costa Rica to be used for conservation efforts in that country.

Merck said in a statement from its New Jersey headquarters that it will immediately begin backing the search for possible medications with grants of about $1 million in the next two years for equipment, supplies and other support of the Costa Rican organization, called InBio.

Private Company

The contract, reached after more than a year's negotiation, is a victory not only for ecologists in Costa Rica, but for two American biologists who promoted it here: Thomas Eisner of Cornell University in New York, and Daniel Janzen of the University of Pennsylvania.

"This is not just a wish, I think this is really a start on something big," said Janzen, who was in San Francisco yesterday to give a series of lectures on the concept at the California Academy of Sciences in Golden Gate Park. "It's really got huge potential."

Worldwide sales of drugs derived from funguses, plants or animals are well over $100 billion a year, but little or none of that money goes back to preserve wild areas that could be the source of future drugs.

Supporters concede the system has many potential problems if it is to go into wide use. Ways would have to be found to police international prospecting for valuable natural chemicals, to prevent "poaching" by companies that refuse to say where they got their feedstocks, and to distinguish between naturally-derived chemicals and similar substances synthesized in laboratories.

Slow, If Not Stop, the Damage

Eisner said in a telephone interview from Cornell that although he is pessimistic that further destruction of the world's remaining forests can be stopped, the Merck contract could show ways to slow it significantly.

The president of InBio, Costa Rican plant biologist Rodrigo Gamez Lobo, said at a Cornell conference on biodiversity, "The royalties could be very big. There are drug products that have sales of $1 billion. If the royalty is just 1 percent, that is $10 million. If we screen and develop a few dozen products we will definitely be in a position to generate all we need for conservation."

The idea stems largely from Eisner's popularization about five years ago of the concept of "chemical prospecting." He and Janzen have worked closely with colleagues in Costa Rica to set up InBio, which Janzen says does "industrial grade taxonomy," with locally trained workers scouring wilderness areas for samples of species and inventorying them for testing for biological potential.

The workers, called "parataxonomist" in analogy to paramedics, can probably screen 4,000 species per year, Janzen said.

Costa Rica is a perfect place to try the idea, Janzen said, because it already has set aside more than 4,000 square miles, about one fourth of its total area, to national parks.

"Chemical prospecting is the search for the unexpected, from the unlikely," Eisner said. One of Merck's biggest selling drugs, the anti-parasitic agent Ivermectin, derives from a fungus discovered by a botanist on his shoe in Japan after a round of golf.

San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 20, 1991

Foreign Aid

HONDURAS AND USAID- FOUR DECADES OF COOPERATION: 1942 to 1988

For over 45 years Honduras and the United States have worked together to improve social and economic conditions for all Hondurans. This long-lasting relationship is proof of our mutual commitment to shared values and democratic principles.

1942 to 1962 –	**Institute for Inter-American Affairs and Point Four**
1962 to 1972 –	**Alliance for Progress**
1973 to 1983 –	**New Directions**
1984 to 1988 –	**Central American Initiative**

Under the Central American Initiative, USAID is committed to working with the people of Honduras to implement nine key objectives:

1) substantially improve macroeconomic performance
2) increase agricultural production
3) promote export revenues
4) improve health and health services, including raising life expectancy and reducing infant mortality
5) improve educational opportunities
6) generate and support productive employment
7) construct and improve rural and urban housing
8) provide the opportunity for Hondurans to study in the democratic environment of the U.S.
9) strengthen the democratic institutions of Honduras, including the legislative, judicial, and electoral processes.

USAID-HONDURAS, May 1989

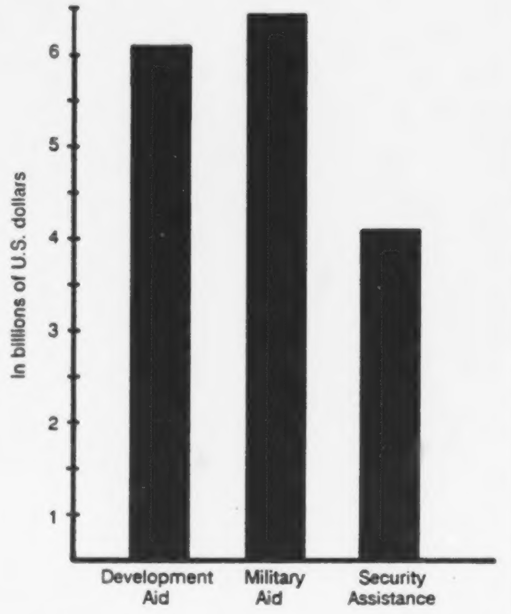
Activity Sheet 9A

U.S. Foreign Aid Issues

Most Americans are involved in the giving of foreign aid. Many contribute money through churches and charitable organizations (like CARE or Oxfam) to help the people of the Third World. All Americans who pay federal taxes help pay for the foreign aid the U.S. government gives to the developing countries. How are you involved in foreign aid?

Examine the information here regarding the United States government's foreign aid programs. As you study this information, try to identify the general goals, the priorities, and the trade-offs that have been involved in U.S. foreign aid.

1. U.S. Foreign Aid, 1986



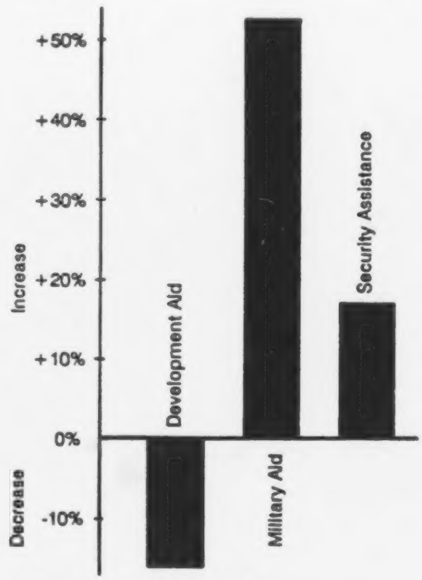
Source: Congressional Research Service

1. Development Aid includes the money spent by the Agency for International Development (AID), an agency of the U.S. government that carries out development projects in the Third World. Also included in this category is the money the U.S. government devotes to the Peace Corps, the Food for Peace Program, and the development programs of international organizations like the World Bank and the United Nations.

2. Military Aid is the money the U.S. government spends to provide military equipment and military training to developing countries friendly to the United States.

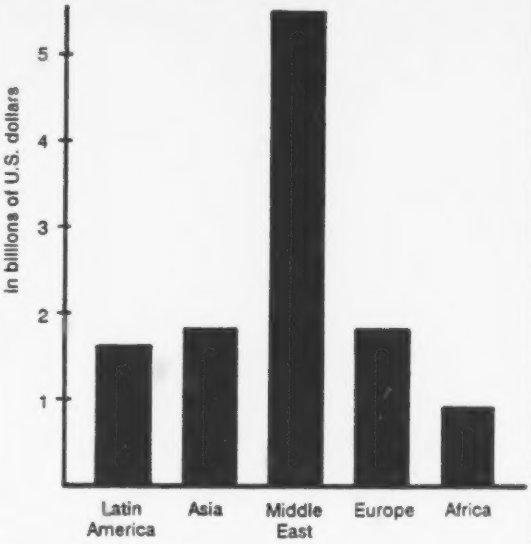
3. Security Assistance includes money given friendly governments in return for their permission to allow U.S. military bases there. It also includes general funds used to support the economies and governments of nations closely allied with the United States, such as Honduras, El Salvador, Egypt, and Israel.

2. Changing Character of U.S. Foreign Aid, 1977-1986



Source: Congressional Research Service

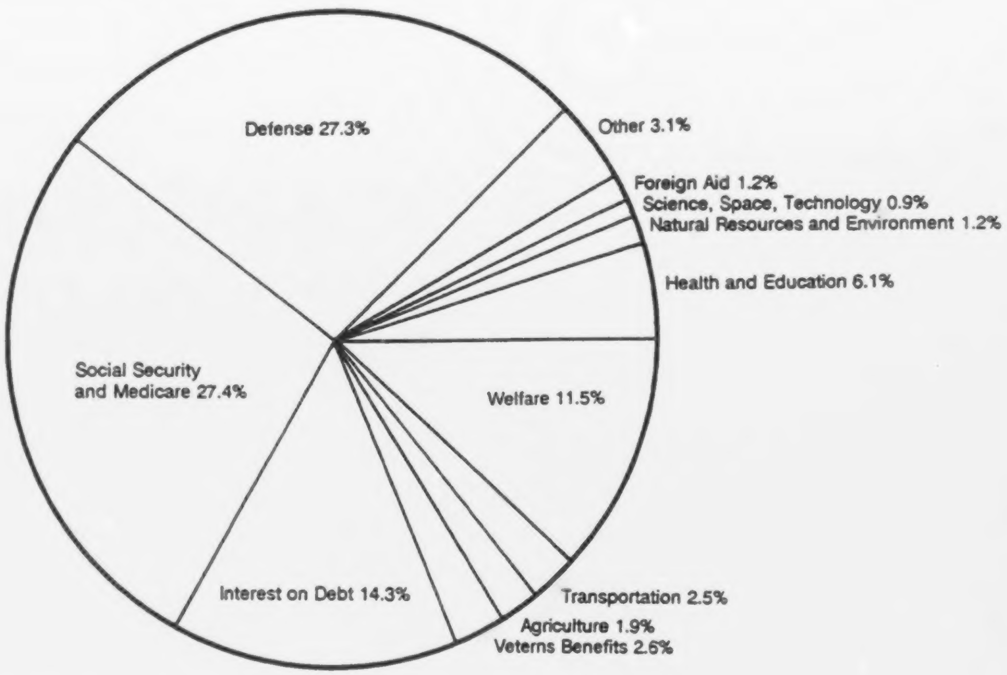
3. Allocation of U.S. Aid by Region, 1986



Source: Congressional Research Service

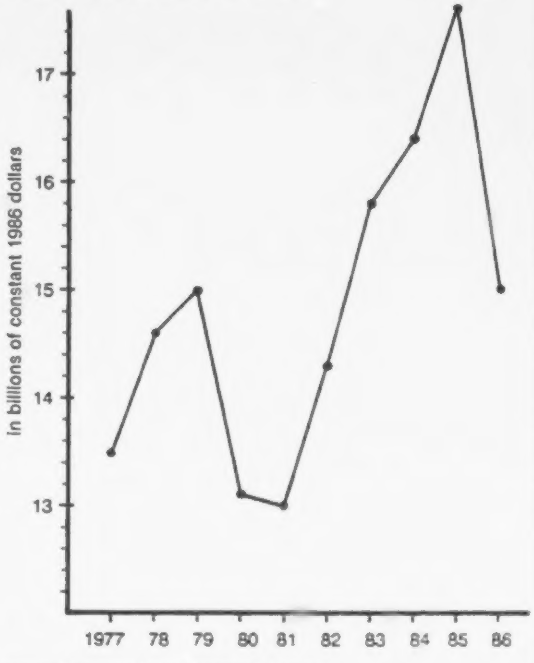
*U.S. foreign aid to Europe is chiefly aid given Greece and Spain in return for American military bases there.

4. U.S. Government Budget, 1987



Source: Office of Management and Budget

5. U.S. Foreign Aid, 1977-86



Source: Congressional Research Service

Questions

1. Why does the United States give foreign aid? List as many reasons as you can.
2. What seem to be the priorities of the the U.S. government regarding:
   a. the type of aid that should be given?
   b. the distribution of aid among the world's regions?
   c. the percentage of the U.S. government's budget that should be devoted to foreign aid?
3. Identify choices Americans confront regarding each of the following foreign aid issues. Explain these choices in terms of trade-offs:
   a. the type of aid that should be given.
   b. the distribution of aid among the world's regions.
   c. the percentage of the U.S. government's budget that should be devoted to foreign aid.
4. Do you agree with the trade-offs the U.S. government has made? In your group try to agree on:
   a. the percentage of U.S. foreign aid that should be allocated to each of the following: development aid, military aid, and security assistance.
   b. the percentage of U.S. foreign aid that should go to each of the following regions: Euorpe, Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East.
   c. whether U.S. foreign aid should be increased, decreased, or kept at about the same level.

Using complete sentences, explain your reasoning on each of these three issues.

Del Franz, Exploring the Third World p. 39

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alvarado, Elvia. Don't Be Afraid, Gringo. A Honduran Woman Speaks from the Heart, translated and edited by Medea Benjamin, San Francisco: Food First, 1987.

Baldwin, Harriet, and Bruce Ross-Larson. The Developing World, Washington, D.C.: World Bank Educational Materials, 1981.

Benjamin, Medea, and Andrea Freedman. Bridging the Global Gap. A Handbook to Linking Citizens of the First and the Third Worlds, Washington, D. C.: Seven Locks Press, 1989.

Dunn, Ross E. Links Acros Time and Place. A world History, Evanston, IL: McDougal,Littell & Co., 1990.

Franz, Del. Exploring the Third World. Development in Africa, Asia and Latin America, New York: The American Forum, Inc., 1987.

Institute of Cultural Affairs International, Brussels, ed. Approaches that Work in Rural Development, 1st ed., Munich: K.G. Saur Verlag, 1988.

Kidron, Michael, and Ronald Segal. The New State of the World Atlas, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984.

McKay, John P., Bennett D. Hill and John Buckler. A History of World Societies, 2nd ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1988.

Rosenblum, Mort. Mission to Civilize. The French Way, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986.

Todoro, Michael P. Economic Development in the Third World, 4th ed., New York: Longman, 1989.

Tolan, Sandy. "Hope and Heartbreak." Best of Business Quarterly, Winter 1990-91: 59-65.

Tooke, Moyra, ed. North-South: World in Development, Ottawa: Teacher's Press, Ltd., 1981.

Whalen, Christopher. "Hard Times, Hard Choices." Best of Business Quarterly, Winter 1990-91: 51-57.

World Bank. World Development Report 1990, Poverty, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1990.

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DEPARTMENT OF
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Curriculum Project for Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar Abroad
in Mexico and Central America 1991
Laura J. Beard

Escritoras mexicanas contemporáneas

Reading List

Fiction:	Barahona, Dorelia	De qué manera te olvido
	Cerda, Martha	Juegos de damas
	Esquivel, Laura	Como agua para chocolate
	Jacobs, Bárbara	Escrito en el tiempo
	Loaeza, Guadalupe	Primero las damas
	Poniatowska, Elena	Querido Diego, Te abraza Quiela
	Puga, María Luisa	Pánico o peligro
	Sefchovich, Sara	Demasiado amor
Theory:	Franco, Jean	Plotting Women
	González & Ortega, eds.	La sartén por el mango
	Miller & Tatum, eds.	Latin American Women Writers: Yesterday and Today

"Escritoras mexicanas contemporáneas" is a survey course of fiction being written in Mexico by women writers today. Although several of the works have won awards and/or great popular acclaim in Mexico, most are not well known in the United States. The course begins with an introduction to feminist literary criticism in Latin America and a look at earlier women writers in Mexico in order to provide students with a background for their study of contemporary novels.

The course will investigate the values, beliefs, ideas and behavior of the women portrayed in the novels; explore their roles as mothers, daughters, sisters, wives, lovers, servants, etc.; and discuss ways in which women achieve, share or lose power.

The primary works listed above will be supplemented with articles on feminist theory or literary criticism and/or with short stories written by the authors listed or by other women writers.

Students will finish the course with an introductory knowledge of feminist literary theory as well as with some thoughtful opinions on whether or not a feminism created and voiced mostly by white, middle-to-upper class North American and French critics can be useful or valid in interpreting works written by women of other races, classes and cultures.

Students will write two 3-5 page papers during the semester and one 8-10 page paper to be handed in on the last day of class. Students will also give class presentations and lead class discussions upon occasion. Students are expected to read the works thoroughly and carefully before coming to class.

I. Defining a Feminist Literary Criticism

What is the relationship between the women's movement and literary criticism? Between the experience of the critic and feminist literary practice?

González & Ortega	*La sartén por el mango*
Poniatowska, Elena	"Mujer y literatura en America Latina"
Guerra-Cunningham, Lucia	"La mujer latinoamericana y la tradición literaria"

II. Earlier Women Writers in Mexico

How have Mexican women struggled for interpretive power in relation to the Catholic religion, the nation and postmodern society? How have they reformed traditional genres in order to write their own stories, stories of Mexican women? Who are the important female precursors for the women writing in Mexico today?

Franco, Jean	*Plotting Women: Gender & Representation in Mexico* (NY: Columbia UP, 1989)
Anderson, Helene	"Rosario Castellanos and the Structures of Power"
Miller, Yvette & & Tatum, Charles, eds.	*Latin American Women Writers: Yesterday and Today* (selections)

III. Cuentos de Damas: Women Writing About Women

What social classes are portrayed in these novels? What are the inter-generational relationships between women? Could these novels have been written by male writers?

Coward, Rosalind	"Are Women's Novels Feminist Novels?"
Cerda, Martha	*Juegos de damas* (Mexico: Joaquín Mortiz, 1988)
Loaeza, Guadalupe	*Primero las damas* (Mexico: Cal y Arena, 1990)

IV. Entre Amigas: Female Friendships

What characterizes the friendships between women in these novels? How do they support each other; how do they compete?

Abel, Elizabeth	"(E)Merging Identities: The Dynamics of Female Friendship in Contemporary Fiction by Women"
Barahona, Dorelia	*De qué manera te olvido* (Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1990)
Puga, María Luisa	*Pánico o peligro* (Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores, 1983)

V. Epistolary Novels

How does the choice of the epistolary genre affect the text? How do these novels challenge concepts of gender, authorship, genre and mimesis? How does the Jacobs' text fit into this genre?

Poniatowska, Elena	Querido Diego, Te abraza Quiela (Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1978)
Sefchovich, Sara	Demasiado amor (Mexico: Planeta, 1990)
Jacobs, Bárbara	Escrito en el tiempo (Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1985)

VI. Women Writing Today, as Resistance, Reclaimation and Revision

How does feminist criticism re-conceptualize theories of genre, plot, influence and literary process? How do women writers appropriate or invent authoritative texts and subvert "the texts of submission?"

Fetterley, Judith	The Resisting Reader (selections)
Kolodny, Annette	"A Map for Rereading: or Gender and the Interpretation of Literary Texts"
Rich, Adrienne	"When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-Vision"
Esquivel, Laura	Como agua para chocolate (Mexico: Planeta, 1989)

West Chester University

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To: Seminar Committee of the Honors Council

From: E. Braidotti

Date: 9/9/91

Re: Proposal for an HONORS SEMINAR (HON 351) on:

DEVELOPMENT IN MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

(meets the culture cluster, interdisciplinary, writing-emphasis requir.)

The content for this honors seminar is the direct result of the 6-week trip I took to Mexico and Central America (Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and one day in El Salvador) during the summer of 1991 as a member of the Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar Program, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education in conjunction with the Institute of International Education.

The intent of the course is to share with our students the current situation and the new developments in these particular countries, while showing at the same time their intimate relation to other Latin American countries and also to the United States.

The basic tools for the seminar and for the students' research were gathered throughout my travels and are readily available in my office, with additional material to be obtained through our library and our other faculty members expert on Latin America--some of whom will also participate in a specially-prepared round table.

The major topics of discussion are outlined in the attached tentative syllabus and accompanying bibliography/resources: after laying the foundations (general background of the countries and people involved), we will devote ourselves entirely to developmental issues--for example, the economy, politics, education, environment, etc., with the aid of abundant visual material suitable for class discussion and individual projects.

Students will be required to actively participate in the conversation, to do some research on specific topics, and to submit oral and written reports to be openly debated and challenged by the rest of the class.

(The information collected during my trip will also be incorporated in the "Notes" I use for my other classes on Latin American culture, which form the basis for a textbook that I am writing on the subject.)

E. Braidotti

HON 351

DEVELOPMENT IN MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

(meets the culture cluster, interdisciplinary, writing-emphasis requirements)

* Instructor: E. Braidotti Office: M 111 (x 2372) Hours:

* Basic Texts:
- Braidotti, Erminio: "Class Notes and Lectures" (from our bookstore)
- Barry, Tom: CENTRAL AMERICA INSIDE OUT (Grove Weidenfeld, NY, 1991)
- Krauss, Clifford: INSIDE CENTRAL AMERICA--ITS PEOPLE, POLITICS, AND HISTORY (Summit Books, NY, 1991)

* Recommended Texts: to be chosen from the attached list, and to be assigned to individual students for their projects.

* Evaluation:
- 1/3 class participation
- 1/3 oral and written reports (best 3)
- 1/3 tests (best 3)

GENERAL OUTLINE & Tentative Syllabus

Week 1. INTRODUCTION: Geography
2. History
3. People
4. Institutions: the Family, the Church, the Military
5. DEVELOPMENT: Economy, Inflation
6. Agriculture
7. Industry, Employment
8. Privatization
9. Free Trade Agreement, Foreign Debt, Global Market/Competition
10. Politics, Democracy
11. Education, Population
12. Environment, Ecology, Tourism
13. SPECIAL TOPICS/GUESTS
14. REPORTS
15. The outlook for the FUTURE
16. CONCLUSIONS

SUGGESTED READING LIST

I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

Tom Barry and Deb Preusch, THE CENTRAL AMERICA FACT BOOK (Grove Press, NY, 1986).

George Black, THE GOOD NEIGHBOR--HOW THE U.S. WROTE THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (Pantheon Books, NY, 1988).

Penny Lernoux, CRY OF THE PEOPLE: THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA--THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CONFLICT WITH U.S. POLICY [especially ch. 3 & 4] (Penguin Books, NY, 1982).

Bulmer-Thomas, V., THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CENTRAL AMERICA SINCE 1920 (Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1987).

Williams, R., EXPORT AGRICULTURE AND THE CRISIS IN CENTRAL AMERICA (Univ. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1986).

Dunkerley, J., POWER IN THE ISTHMUS: A POLITICAL HISTORY OF MODERN CENTRAL AMERICA (Verso, London, 1988).

Booth, John A. and Mitchell Seligson, eds.; ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AMERICA (Univ. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1989).

Flamm, Kenneth: THE GLOBAL FACTORY: FOREIGN ASSEMBLY IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE (Brookings Institute, 1985).

Lowenthal, Abraham, ed.; PARTNERS IN CONFLICT: THE U.S. AND LATIN AMERICA IN THE 1990's (Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1990).

Stellings, Barbara and Robert Kaufman, eds.; DEBT AND DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA (Westview Press, Boulder, 1989).

Oxford Analytica, LATIN AMERICA IN PERSPECTIVE (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1991).

Diamond Larry, Juan J. Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds.; DEMOCRACY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: VOLUME 4, LATIN AMERICA (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1989).

Larkin, Bruce D., ed.; VITAL INTERESTS: THE SOVIET ISSUE IN U.S. CENTRAL AMERICAN POLICY (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1988).

Jaquette, J.; THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA: FEMINISM AND THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY (Unwin Hyman, Boston, 1989).

For an analysis of current historical events, see "Mexico and Central America" (special issue of CURRENT HISTORY, March 1991, from the World Affairs Journal).

II. With particular reference to DEVELOPMENT

Porter, Michael E.; "The Competitive Advantage of Nations" (Harvard Business Review, March-April 1990).

Sherman, Amy L.; OTHER VOICES: ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES FOR LATIN AMERICA--A STUDY OF EMERGING "NEO-LIBERALS" IN LATIN AMERICA (published by the Institute on Religion and Democracy, Washington, D.C., Dec. 1990).

McGinn, Noel F., "Implications for Education of Economic Integration Within the Americas" (paper/presentation, Harvard U., March 10, 1991).

"The New Gospel: North American Free Trade" (a special issue of NACLA REPORT ON THE AMERICAS, vol. XXIV, # 6, May 1991).

"Summary of Key Postulates of Various Development Theories" (booklet handed out by ITESM, July 1991).

Adelman, Alan; "North America Needs Its Own Academic Common Market" (CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION, December 2, 1990).

De Soto, Hernando; EL OTRO SENDERO: LA REVOLUCION INFORMAL (Diana, México, 1987; English version: THE OTHER PATH, Harper & Row, NY, 1989).

III. For an update on current events, consult major U.S. and Latin American magazines, reviews, and newspapers; especially:

CENTRAL AMERICA REPORT, published weekly by Inforpress Centroamericana, Guatemala.

MESOAMERICA, published monthly by the Institute for Central American Studies, San José, Costa Rica.

GUATEMALA WATCH, a monthly publication of FUNDESA--Guatemalan Development Foundation.

INFORME LATINOAMERICANO, published weekly by Latin American Newsletters, London, England.

LATINAMERICA PRESS, a weekly bulletin of news and analysis from Lima, Peru.

NACLA REPORT ON THE AMERICAS, published bi-monthly by the North American Congress on Latin America.

WASHINGTON REPORT ON THE HEMISPHERE, a bi-weekly publication from the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, Washington, D.C.

IV. By COUNTRIES (visited) and TOPICS

1. MEXICO

a) U.S.-Mexican Relations

Castaneda, Jorge and Robert A. Pastor; LIMITS TO FRIENDSHIP: THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO (Knopf, NY, 1989).

Ojeda, Mario; "The Structural Context of U.S.-Mexican Relations," in Tommie Sue Montgomery, ed. MEXICO TODAY (Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, 1982).

Weintraub, Sydney; A MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE: RELATIONS BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES (Oxford Univ. Press, NY, 1990).

b) Development

Cypher, James M.; STATE AND CAPITAL IN MEXICO: DEVELOPMENT POLICY SINCE 1940 (Westview Press, Boulder, 1990).

Weintraub, Sydney and Luis Rubio and Alan D. Jones, eds.; U.S.-MEXICAN INDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION (Westview Press, Boulder, 1990).

Aguilar Camín, H.; DESPUES DEL MILAGRO (Cal y Arena, México, 1989).

World Bank, "Mexico After the Oil Boom: Refashioning a Development Strategy" (June 23, 1987).

Heath, John Richard; ENHANCING THE CONTRIBUTION OF LAND REFORM TO MEXICAN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT (with an extensive bibliography, published by the Agriculture & Rural Development Department and Latin America and the Caribbean Regional Office, The World Bank, February 1990).

THE MEXICAN ECONOMY: A MONTHLY REPORT (published by CAIE--Centro de Análisis e Investigación Económica, México; see for example the April 91 and June 91 issues).

Introduction and General Background (handed out by ITAM--Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México, July 8, 1991).

c) Free Trade Agreement

"Is Free Trade with Mexico Good or Bad for the U.S.?" (BUSINESS WEEK, Nov. 12, 1990).

"Mexico's Ugly Duckling--the Maquiladora" (THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, Oct. 4, 1990).

"Will Mexico Make It?" (a special report by the BEST OF BUSINESS QUARTERLY, Winter 1990-91; it includes Christopher Whalen's "Hard Times, Hard Choices" and Sandy Tolan's "Hope and Heartbreak").

d) For an example of the contribution of the Autonomous University of Querétaro to investigation and research, particularly in the field of agricultural products or new trends in urban and rural housing and related issues, see its two publications:

INVESTIGACION (esp. vol. VI, # 19, enero-marzo 1987;
vol. VII, # 25-26, julio-diciembre 1988;
vol. VIII, # 27-28, enero-junio 1989)

AVANCES (esp. vol. II, # 8, enero 1991;
vol. III, # 9, abril 1991)

e) Politics

Cornelius, W., Gentleman, J., and Smith, P.; MEXICO'S ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM (Univ. of California, San Diego, 1989).

f) Migration

Cornelius, Wayne; MEXICAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES (MIT Press, 1978).

McCarthy, Kevin F. and R. Burciaga Valdez; CURRENT AND FUTURE EFFECTS OF MEXICAN MIGRATION IN CALIFORNIA (Rand Corporation, California Roundtable, May 1986).

g) People and Culture

Almazán, Marco A.; EL REDIEZCUBRIMIENTO DE MEXICO (Panorama, México, 1990).

Amador de Gama, Luis; ASI SOMOS LOS MEXICANOS (Alpe, México, 1990).

Condon, John C.; GOOD NEIGHBORS--COMMUNICATIING WITH THE MEXICANS (Intercultural Press, 1985, Yarmouth, ME).

Ibargüengoitia, Jorge: INSTRUCCIONES PARA VIVIR EN MEXICO (Joaquín Ortiz, México, 1990).

Oster,Patrick; THE MEXICANS: THE PERSONAL PORTRAIT OF A PEOPLE (Morrow Press, 1989).

Paz, Octavio; THE LABYRINTH OF SOLITUDE: LIFE AND THOUGHT IN MEXICO (Grove Press, NY, 1985).

Riding, Alan; DISTANT NEIGHBORS:A PORTRAIT OF THE MEXICANS (Knopf, NY, 1984).

Wilkie, James, ed.; CONTEMPORARY MEXICO (Un. of Calif. Press, Berkeley, 1976).

2. HONDURAS

a) Privatization and free enterprise

EMPRESARIOS, a publication of COHEP--Honduran Council of Private Enterprise (vol. 4, # 20, abril-mayo-junio 1991).

b) Agricultural Development

1989 ANNUAL REPORT, "El Zamorano"--Escuela Agrícola Panamericana (Tegucigalpa, Honduras, and its active role in agronomy, Horticulture, Animal Science, etc.).

1990 ANNUAL REPORT, FHIA--Honduran Foundation for Agricultural Research (La Lima, Cortés, Honduras; especially dealing with bananas, cocoa, and a new diversification program).

c) Ecology

BOLETIN INFORMATIVO, # 7, of A.H.E.--Honduran Ecological Association (enero-agosto 1990, Tegucigalpa, Honduras; on the management of protected areas). It also announces campaigns, competitions, etc.; and the organization distributes posters and other informational bulletins.

d) Overall USAID Contribution to the country

USAID AND HONDURAS: PARTNERS IN DEVELOPMENT (a special publication, May 1989).

USAID HONDURAS BRIEFING BOOK (published by the Agency for International Development, March 1991, Tegucigalpa, Honduras).

e) Other issues

Lapper, Richard and James Painter; HONDURAS: A STATE FOR SALE (Latin American Bureau, London, 1985).

Anderson,Thomas P.; THE WAR OF THE DISPOSSESSED: HONDURAS AND EL SALVADOR, 1969 (Un. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1981).

McCann, Thomas P.; AN AMERICAN COMPANY: THE TRAGEDY OF UNITED FRUIT (Crown, NY, 1976).

LaFeber, Walter; INEVITABLE REVOLUTIONS: THE UNITED STATES IN CENTRAL AMERICA (Norton, NY, 1983).

3. NICARAGUA

a) General

Gutman, Roy; BANANA DIPLOMACY (Simon and Schuster, NY, 1988).

Davis, Peter; WHERE IS NICARAGUA? (Simon and Schuster, NY, 1987).

Christian, Shirley; NICARAGUA: REVOLUTION IN THE FAMILY (Random House, NY, 1985).

Kornbluh, Peter; NICARAGUA: THE PRICE OF INTERVENTION (Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, DC.C, 1987).

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN NICARAGUA: DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES (LASA, Pittsburgh, 1984).

M.Cerezo Barredo y Teófilo Cabestrero, LO QUE HEMOS VISTO Y OIDO: Apuntes de la revolución de Nicaragua (Desclee de Brouwer, Bilbao, 1983).

b) Development and Progress achieved by the Sandinista Revolution

Ortega Saavedra, Daniel; INFORME CENTRAL DE LA DIRECCION GENERAL DEL FSLN (presentado -y publicado- en su primer congreso, Managua, 19 de julio de 1991).

BARRICADA INTERNATIONAL, special issue, vol. XI, # 339, julio 1991.

c) Education

Ministerio de Educación, LINEAMIENTOS DEL MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION EN EL NUEVO GOBIERNO DE SALVACION NACIONAL [julio 1990] (4a ed., Managua, enero 1991).

d) Environment

EPOCA/Earth Island Institute has published some Green Papers (San Francisco, 1986), for example:

- "Nicaragua: An Environmental Perspective"
- "Central America: Roots of Environmental Destruction"
- "Militarization: The Environmental Impact"

e) The Press

Chamorro B., Cristiana; LA PRENSA HACIA EL FUTURO (presentación que hizo ella misma al grupo de Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar, julio 1991).

f) Women

Angel, Adriana and Fiona Macintosh; THE TIGER'S MILK--WOMEN OF NICARAGUA (Henry Holt & Co., NY,1987).

Pérez-Alemán, Paola; WOMEN IN NICARAGUA--A PROFILE: 1990 (Canadian International Development Agency, Managua, November 1990).

(I have also available many other articles dealing with women's contribution to the Sandinista Revolution, women's issues before and after the Revolution, and similar papers...dealing also with women in other Central American countries.)

Margaret Randall, TODAS ESTAMOS DESPIERTAS: Testimonios de la mujer nicaragüense hoy (Siglo XXI, México, 1989).

4. GUATEMALA

a) General

Carmack, R.,ed.; HARVEST OF VIOLENCE: THE MAYA INDIANS AND THE GUATEMALAN CRISIS (Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1988).

Adams, Richard N.; CRUCIFIXION BY POWER (Univ. of Texas Press, Austin, 1982).

NACLA; GUATEMALA (NACLA, NY, 1974).

Schlesinger, Stephen and Stephen Kinzer; BITTER FRUIT: THE UNTOLD STORY OF THE AMERICAN COUP IN GUATEMALA (Doubleday, NY, 1982).

Immerman, Richard H.; THE CIA IN GUATEMALA: THE FOREIGN POLICY OF INTERVENTION (Univ. of Texas Press, Austin, 1982).

Burgos, Elizabeth; ME LLAMO RIGOBERTA MENCHU Y ASI ME NACIO LA CONCIENCIA (Siglo XXI, México, 1988).

b) Development

West, Donnamarie; BETWEEN TWO WORLDS--THE HUMAN SIDE OF DEVELOPMENT in Guatemala (Intercultural Press, Yarmouth, ME, 1990).

GUATEMALA: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND (prepared by FUNDESA--Guatemalan Development Foundation, November 1990).

Cox, Glenn David; "The Socioeconomic Development of Guatemala" (with an abstract, outline, table, charts, bibliography and excellent glossary; Francisco Marroquin University, August 1991).

Thomas, Fritz; "Overview of the Guatemalan Economy" (notes from his lecture at FMU, August 2, 1991).

* On the role of Francisco Marroquin University in the development of Guatemala:

- in general: a series of articles in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL by several of its members; for example:
  - + "Why Guatemala Needs Its Sidewalk Dollar Exchange" (June 15, 1984)
  - + "Guatemalan Democracy Looks Better From the Inside"(Nov.10, 1990)
  - + "Free to Float: The Perils of Fixed Exchange" (Sept. 24, 1982)
  - + "Foreign Aid Inhibits Market Ideas in Guatemala"(Nov.3, 1989)
  - + "Guatemala Chastised for Making Up Their Own Minds"(Aug.10, 1990)
- in education: "Inaugural Address" by the President of the University, Dr. Manuel F. Ayau, January 15, 1972.

c) Education

Armando de la Torre, "The Educational Landscape of Guatemala" (outline and lecture at FMU, August 1, 1991).

Susan Clay, "Education in Guatemala" (notes from her lecture at IGA, July 30, 1991).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY of the January 29, 1991, National Conference on "Educating Girls: Achieving the Development of Guatemala."

SUMMARY REVIEW of USAID/Guatemala Activities in Rural Education (1969-1983).

SUMMARY OF CURRENT PROJECT ACTIVITIES, focusing on BEST's [Basic Education Strengthening] 6-year campaing (July 7, 1989 to July 1, 1995) on improving the quality, efficiency, coverage, and administration of primary education services in Guatemala.

d) U.S. Perspective and Contribution

"Palabras del Embajador de los EE.UU., Thomas F. Stroock, ante la cámara norteamericana de comercio (AMCHAM)," 16 de noviembre de 1989 (statement of U.S. policy and goals; official Spanish text published by USIS, U.S. Embassy, Guatemala).

Rachel Garst, "U.S. FoodAid and Foreign Policy in Central America" (notes from her lecture at IGA, July 29, 1991).

Jane Lyons, "Population Problems and Health" (notes from her lecture at IGA, July 29, 1991).

"U.S. State Department Human Rights Report: GUATEMALA 1990" (distributed by the U.S. Embassy, Guatemala, February 1991).

e) Environment

Bendfeldt, Juan F.; ECONOMIA Y MEDIO AMBIENTE (Cuadernos de Estudios Económicos y Sociales, Guatemala, mayo 1991; plus notes from his lecture).

Nakatsuma, Alfredo; "Ecology" (notes from his lecture at IGA, July 30, 1991).

V. ENVIRONMENT and CULTURAL SURVIVAL (in addition to the references already given)

Bendfeldt, Juan F.; ENVIRONMENTALISM IN LATIN AMERICA: PROSPECTS FOR AN ECONOMY OF NATURAL RESOURCES (FMU, Guatemala, August 1991).

Clay, Jason W.; (sections of) INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND TROPICAL FORESTS: MODELS OF LAND USE AND MANAGEMENT FROM LATIN AMERICA (Cultural Survival, Cambridge, MA, 1988).

DeWalt, Billie R.; "Economic Assistance in Central America:Development or Impoverishment?" (CULTURAL SURVIVAL QUARTERLY, vol. 10, # 1, 1986).

Houseal, Brian and Craig MacFarland, Guillermo Archibold, Aurelio Chiari; INDIGENOUS CULTURES AND PROTECTED AREAS IN CENTRAL AMERICA (CULTURAL SURVIVAL QUARTERLY, vol. 9, # 1, 1985).

"Deforestation: The Human Costs" (editorial/article, CULTURAL SURVIVAL QUARTERLY, Vol. 6, # 2, 1982).

Macdonald Jr., Theodore,ed.; NATIVE PEOPLES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: SIX CASE STUDIES FROM LATIN AMERICA (Cultural Survival, Cambridge, 1984).

AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIAL

1. Many props, show-and-tell realia, personal pictures and slides gathered during the trip.

2. Several records and tapes of not only popular/traditional music, but especially of the most recent "new song" or "protest song" like:

   * PROTEST SONGS OF LATIN AMERICA
   * MEXICO: SONGS OF STRUGGLE
   * SONGS FOR THE NEW NICARAGUA

   (others available on: Argentina, Cuba, Chile,Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Puerto Rico)

3. Movies, like: SALVADOR
   EL NORTE
   ROMERO
   BREAK OF DAWN
   THE MACARENA STORY
   CORRIDOS! (Tales of Passion and Revolution)

   And the play by Peter Gould, A PEASANT OF EL SALVADOR (Whetstone Books, Brattleboro, VT, 1987).

4. TV programs (on video):

   * general:-"Crisis in Central America" (4 parts, 55m each)
     -Mexico in the 20th Century (3 parts, 1 h each)
     (The Revolution, Up to 1940, Up to the Present [1988])
     - El Salvador: What's at Stake? (30 m)

* revolution:(peaceful)	- A Marked Man (in Guatemala)	5/27/89
:(violent)	- Fire from the Mountains: The Making of a Sandinista	7/88
* U.S. intervention:	- Vacation Nicaragua	4/30/89
	- Honduras	1/8/89
	- Mission: Honduras	5/88
	- Dateline 1981: El Salvador	
	- Our Forgotten War: El Salvador	6/88
	- Félix Rodríguez (and the Contra Affair)	10/22/89
	- Panama: Operation Just Cause	12/89
	- " Victims of Just Cause (& Update)	9 & 12/90
	- " Giving Up the Canal	90
* human rights:	- Road to SanSalvador	2/90
	- The Jesuits' Murder	11/16/89 & 4/22/90
	- Los Niños (of Guatemala)	12/13/90
	- Hideous Crimes(Sister Ortiz of Guatemala)	6/6/91
* economy:	- Mexico	88
* environment:	- Global Dumping Ground (especially in Mexico)	10/2/90

- democracy & elections:
  - Dateline 1979: Nicaragua
  - Elections in Nicaragua 2/26/90
  - in Panama from 5/8 to 5/10/89
  - in El Salvador 3/18 & 3/20/89

- aliens/migration:
  - USA/MEXICO: Night and Day 90
  - Whose Country Is This 12/14/90
  - New Harvest, Old Shame 4/17/90
  - Dangerous Crossing 5/9/91

- drugs:
  - We Are Losing the War on Drugs 5/19/89
  - Mexico's War on Drugs 2/12/90
  - The Noriega Connection 1/30/90
  - The War on Drugs in Panama 12/19/90

- education: - The Second Revolution (Education in Nicaragua) 89

- the press: - The Chamorros (of Nicaragua's LA PRENSA & BARRICADA) 4/30/89

- women: - Basta Ya! (Women in Central America) (slide show, 1983)

- tourism: - Plunder in Paradise (mostly the Caribbean; slide show, 1983)

- a good example: - Costa Rica Is Different 11/6/88

- example of an Indian village (in Guatemala) "touched" by progress:
  - Todos Santos Cuchumatan (1983)
    (very interesting also is its sequel: Todos Santos--The Survivors(1989)

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NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

I. RESOURCES, in general

Jan 74 (1-51) (parts of) Gold, the Eternal Treasure
Jun 74 (792-825) (parts of) Oil, The Dwindling Treasure
Mar 81 (388-405) (parts of) Coffee, the Bonanza Bean
May 81 (702-712) (parts of) Rediscovering America's Forgotten Crops
Jan 83 (2-65) (parts of) Rain Forests: Nature's Dwindling Treasures
Feb 85 (142-189) (parts of) The Poppy--for Good and Evil
Jan 89 (2-47) (parts of) Coca--An Ancient Herb Turns Deadly
May 88 (552-591) (parts of) Wool: Fabric of History

II. CENTRAL AMERICA and by COUNTRY

Jul 81 (58-61) Troubled Times for Central America
Nov 86 (563-605) Columbus and the New World

Belize

Jan 72 (124-146) Belize, the Awakening Land

Costa Rica

Jul 81 (32-57) Costa Rica Steers the Middle Course

Guatemala

Nov 74 (660-689) Guatemala, Maya and Modern
Oct 85 (514-543) The Usumacinta River: Troubles on a Wild Frontier
Jun 88 (768-802) Guatemala: A Fragile Democracy
Oct 89 (424-479) La Ruta Maya

Honduras

Nov 83 (608-637) Honduras: Eye of the Storm

Mexico

May 73 (638-669) Mexico--The City that Founded a Nation
May 78 (612-647) Mexico: "A very beautiful challenge"
Aug 84 (138-175) Mexico City: An Alarming Giant
Jun 85 (720-749) U.S.-Mexican Border: Life on the Line
Oct 85 (514-543) The Usumacinta River: Troubles on a Wild Frontier
Dec 90 (122-143) Mexico's Bajío--The Heartland

Nicaragua

Dec 85 (776-811) Nicaragua: Nation in Conflict

Panama

Mar 70 (402-440) Panama, Link Between Oceans and Continents
Feb 78 (278-294) The Panama Canal Today
Apr 86 (466-493) Panama: Ever At The Crossroads

Curriculum Projects Derived from Fulbright-Hays Seminar Abroad

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ABSTRACT: Two projects are outlined: 1) a revision of "Introduction to Comparative Politics," that a) incorporates specific new knowledge about Mexico into the section on Third World politics (for which Mexico is already the case study) and b) weaves the theme of economic development and its political preconditions into all three case studies. 2) a new course called "Central America: Dictatorship and Dependency, Democratization and Development?" that would explore the interconnections between political and economic development in the Third World by focusing on Central America's history, recent experiences, and future prospects.

Introduction

I have chosen to do a curriculum project rather than a research project, both because of the highly-structured group character of the seminar and my own inability to speak Spanish. I realized before I left that the research proposal outlined in my application would be extremely difficult. Since my return to the United States, I have nevertheless tried to fashion a research project that would use English-language sources and draw on a theme of the seminar. My interest was piqued in particular by the Honduras AID officer's description of the "Democratic Initiatives" program. I did some preliminary research and inquiries on U.S. efforts to promote political development in addition to economic development. However, I have decided not to pursue this research systematically because it's well outside my area of expertise (and would probably also require some facility in Spanish). Thus, I settled on curriculum projects as the most effective way to transmit the knowledge I have gained and the thought that I have given to the topic of "Economic Development in Mexico and Central America."

Project I: Beefing Up the Mexico Section of "Introduction to Comparative Politics"

In the spring of 1992, I will be teaching "Introduction to Comparative Politics," a course I introduced to the catalog, for the second time. Even before applying for the Fulbright-Hays, I had decided to include Mexico as the case for the "Third World," and I was enthusiastic about the seminar abroad largely because of the direct benefits that would accrue to teaching that course. My expectations were certainly fulfilled, particularly by the lectures at ITAM and experiences in Mexico City.

I have planned two major revisions to the course that should enhance my ability to incorporate my experiences in Mexico. First of all, I have changed the structure of the course to consider first the general theoretical issues in comparative politics and then to examine in detail each of the three case studies (Germany, China, and Mexico). Obviously, spending several weeks in succession on Mexico (rather than scattered topical lectures) is more conducive to developing the themes I'm interested in, particularly the ones suggested by the seminar in Mexico. This effect will be enhanced by the second change, switching the textbook from Mexico: Paradoxes of Stability and Change (Daniel Levy and Gabriel Szekely) to Distant Neighbors: A Portrait of the Mexicans. While I like the analytical focus of Levy and Szekely, Riding's book, because of its extensive descriptions and broader perspective, will match more effectively the things I learned in Mexico. In short, between Riding's book and my own photographs, reminiscences, and reconstructions of lectures at ITAM, I hope that the students will begin to see Mexico not only as an example of the "Third World," but as a fascinating and important country in its own right.

In specific terms, I hope to address such topics as the Free Trade Agreement (drawing on lectures from Nicholson, Samaniego, and Castro), political reform (Cardenas, Gomez), ecological issues (Belausteguigoitia, Munoz, Cuaron and Bojorquez), and the problems of Mexico City (Carlos). More generally, I hope to address, not only in the section on Mexico but throughout the course, the interconnections between economic and political development. The relevant buzzwords these days are "perestroika" and "glasnost," and I was intrigued by President Salinas' alleged comment that he would succeed where Gorbachev had failed because he put perestroika first, in effect holding back on political reform until the economic reforms were irreversible. For that matter, China also seems to be attempting perestroika before glasnost. I hope to explore, with both Mexico and China as examples (and maybe even Germany) whether political and economic reform can proceed simultaneously, or whether economic reform requires an authoritarian political system.

Project II: "Central America: Dictatorship and Democracy, Democratization and Development"

In a new course on Central America, I hope to pursue this same theme more systematically. In the 1960s and 1970s, most of the countries of Central America were ruled by authoritarian governments, if not by outright dictatorships. By the late 1980s, Central America seems to have joined the Southern Cone countries of South America in experiencing both political democratization and a shift in strategies of economic development. The conventional explanation for this in the post-Cold War "New World Order" is that free-market, free-trade economies must be paired with representative democracies for economic and political progress to occur. If this is so, then Central America (like Eastern Europe) is finally "seeing the light." I'm skeptical. I'm skeptical on theoretical/historical grounds, for I think that representative democracy (with the possible exceptions of Britain and the United States) has traditionally lagged considerably behind the development of a market economy, and is usually a concession to domestic instability. That is, allowing substantial popular input in politics is designed to soften the blows of the transition to capitalism.[1] I'm also skeptical because of what I know about the specific history and recent experiences of Central America. Both greater integration into the world market economy and opening of the political system (e.g. through elections) seem to be best explained by a combination of domestic and international factors, not by some necessary connection between economic and political reform.

There are several theoretical advantages to examining this question by focusing on Central America. Simply put, all of the Central American countries are subject to very similar historical and international constraints, but their economic and especially their political responses to those constraints have varied considerably. Their similarity arises from repeated failures at unification (as one of my textbooks puts it, Central America is "a nation divided") and from their domination by the United

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[1] Among others, see Benjamin Ginsberg, The Consequences of Consent.

States, militarily, politically, culturally, and economically. Because of these similarities, the differences are that much more striking and, hopefully, that much more instructive. Just in the last thirty-five years, the region has experienced elected reformist governments, military dictatorships, peaceful civilian transitions, client states, genocidal wars, and a successful nationalist/leftist revolution. All of these are political legacies of the historical and international constraints, but also attempts to deal with very similar economic problems: small internal markets, few raw materials, inegalitarian land distribution, dependence on foreign investment, export-dependent agriculture, little industry, low educational levels, etc. By examining both the economic problems and the welter of political responses, while keeping in mind the historical and international context, I hope to show that the apparent regional trend toward glasnost and perestroika is neither inevitable nor destined to succeed.

Course Outline

I. Theoretical Context

This section will consider the general literature in sociology, political science, and economics on the questions of political modernization and economic development. For political modernization, we will examine (in lectures and possibly in short reserve readings) the theories of Huntington and Moore about the social, economic and historical conditions for the emergence of representative democracies out of traditional political systems.[2] We will also consider more common political phenomena in the "Third World" such as military dictatorships and one-party states, and the possibilities of making the transition from these forms to competitive, representative democracies. Turning to economic development, we will consider the variety of economic paths taken by Third World countries toward development and the variety of theories that attempt to explain the persistence of underdevelopment. Much of this literature deals with Latin American examples, so it is theoretically relevant to the Central American economies.[3] Trying to bring the debate up to date, I will pose the questions laid out in the introduction about the possible relationships between economic and political development.

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[2] Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968; Barrington Moore, The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, 1967.

[3] Fernando H. Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, Dependency and Development in Latin America, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976; Roger Hansen, The Politics of Mexican Development, 1971; J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency," Comparative Politics, July 1978, pp. 535-557; Peter Evans, Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State and Local Capital in Brazil; Andre Gunder Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967; Alvin Y. So, Social Change and Development: Modernization, Dependency, and World-System Theories, Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990; James L. Dietz and Dilmas D. James, Progress Toward Development in Latin America: From Prebisch to Technological Autonomy, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1990; Christopher Colclough and James Manor, eds., States or Markets? Neo-Liberalism and the Development Policy Debate, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991; Hernando de Soto, The Other Path, New York: Harper and Row, 1989.

II. Historical Context

At this point, we will turn to Central America as a set of case studies through which the theoretical issues can be addressed. Essential to this, I feel, is establishing the historical context in which the current debates and developments are rooted. Thus, we will turn to the first textbook: Ralph Lee Woodward, Central America: A Nation Divided (2nd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). By considering the political and economic histories of the Central American countries, as well as their historical relationship to the United States, the dilemmas of "democratization and development" will hopefully be put into sharp focus. Moreover, examining a particular set of countries will show the limitations of the general political and economic theories outlined above (even though many of them tried to explain the Latin American experience). Establishing such a tension (a dialectic, perhaps?) between the general theoretical questions and the actual historical experiences will give us the tools to realistically assess the possibilities for "democratization and development." To supplement Woodward and pose the dilemmas more clearly, I would also assign portions of the second textbook: Phillip Berryman, Inside Central America: The Essential Facts Past and Present on El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica (Pantheon Press).

III. Democratization

The first question to be considered then is the possibility of establishing stable and competitive representative democracies in Central America. In the conception of most of the public (and of AID's "Democratic Initiatives" program), this would require, at the very least, free elections, human rights reforms, and the strengthening of democratic institutions (particularly legislatures and courts, as a counterbalance to the military and the executive). Political rhetoric in the United States, however, focuses on elections, hence the choice of the third textbook: John A. Booth and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds., Elections and Democracy in Central America, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984. I intend to ask why Central American elections emerged as significant events in the 1980s, by focusing on socioeconomic changes in those societies, changes in the political regimes, changes in the relationships between Central American countries, and changes in the region's relationships to the United States, Mexico, and South America.

IV: Development

Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate a suitable textbook for this portion of the course, that is, one that would survey the recent Central American experience with economic development. Fortunately, this gap can be substantially filled by my experiences as Fulbright seminarian. Our seminars focused on problems of debt, inflation, underinvestment, lopsided development, ecological costs, and especially the over-involvement of government bureaucracy. I would, by drawing on lectures (particularly those at the Universidad Francisco Marroquin in Guatemala), discuss the emerging regional consensus on a neoliberal, free-market model of development and its emphasis on non-traditional exports, the development of tourism, and so on. I would then try to evaluate whether this strategy is likely to succeed and whether it is compatible with democratization.

Conclusion

This proposal for a course on Central America is composed primarily of intentions and questions, and is not a detailed outline of day-to-day discussions. It has been my experience in developing new courses that flexibility is a must and that the truly essential preparatory work is to conceptualize the course properly. I believe that this outline addresses questions of global and timely significance and draws upon the knowledge I've acquired from the Fulbright-Hays Seminar Abroad. It might also be fun.

TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT

A curriculum project developed for the Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar on Development in Mexico and Central America, June 26-August 5, 1991.

This curriculum has been designed for use in an interdisciplinary summer study abroad class to the Yucatan Peninsula, Mexico. It could also serve as a unit in an Issues in Development course.

The objectives of the unit are
(1) to increase student awareness of the meaning of development
(2) to understand how tourism can serve as a strategy for development
(3) to help students understand their contribution, as tourists, to the development process
(4) to understand the impact tourism can have upon a country or region

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TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT

I. DEFINING DEVELOPMENT

A. Traditional definition: Development usually refers to the process of improving the standard of living for a nation's people and typically focuses on such issues as ending hunger, developing industry, improving sanitation, establishing health services, constructing roads, increasing agricultural production, and improving education

B. Identification of "developed" and "developing" countries (including terminology: First World, Third World, North and South)

C. Economic development vs. social development

D. Indicators of Development: Comparative Data from U.S., Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala

1. average income
2. employment
3. water/sanitation
4. education
5. population growth
6. health

E. Examination of the term "development" and what constitutes the "good life."

II. VACATIONS FOR SALE: TOURISM AS A DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

A. Defining tourism: "the sacred journey"

B. Types of tourism

1. mass tourism
2. Ecotourism
   a. including ethnic/cultural/historical tourism
   b. Mexican environmental sociologist, Hector Ceballos-Lascurain, defines as "traveling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery and..wild plants and animals, as well as any local cutural treasures"

C. Extensiveness of tourism

1. world's largest export earner, surpassing weapons and oil
2. Conservation International estimates $55 billion a year to developing countries in Latin America, Africa, and Indonesia

D. Tourism and Mexico
  1. cabinet-level status for the Department of Tourism
  2. marketing Mexico: increase in expenditures from $15-40 million in U.S. over last two years
  3. increase in visitors
    a. 1994 estimate of 10 million visitors annually
    b. Cancun tourism grows at rate of 25% year
  4. international loans support touristic development
  5. economic benefits
    a. in the world's "top ten" in terms of tourist revenues
    b. rivals oil as major source of revenue

III. IMPACT OF TOURISM: REFLECTING UPON THE IMPACT OF 52 CRUISE SHIPS A WEEK

A. Where do tourist monies go?
  1. developed countries: estimate a 50% return
  2. developing countries
    a. national benefit
    b. local benefits (e.g., estimated 70-90% of profits from Cancun leave the area
B. What is the nature and consequence(s) of intercultural contacts?
C. What is the effect upon indigenous cultures?
  1. regeneration of traditional crafts vs. creation of "airport art"
  2. westernization
D. How is the local social structure affected by tourist industry?
E. What is the impact upon local natural resources and resource development?
F. How is the preservation of historical and archaeological sites affected?
G. What is the environmental impact?

IV. ECOTOURISM: A WAY TO DEVELOP AND PRESERVE?
A. Growth of ecotourism
  1. 20-25% growth per year
  2. World Wildlife study in Latin America shows 50% tourists indicating nature travel as motivation for trip
  3. International support for ecotourism
    a. NGO support
    b. the case of the Maya Biosphere Reserve

- B. Arguments in favor of ecotourism
  - 1. can provide source of income to local peoples
  - 2. preserves ecosystems and endangered wildlife
  - 3. stimulates both in-country and out-of-country educational programs to protect area and/or wildlife
  - 4. insures long-term desirability of an area for tourism
- C. Possible consequences
  - 1. developing countries need for foreign exchange will turn ecotourism into mass tourism
  - 2. even a "low impact" presence can endanger wildlife and indigenous cultures
- D. Ethics of ecotourism
  - 1. No "quick" promotions of an area
  - 2. Audubon's code of conduct
  - 3. The Banff Declaration of 1985: global interpreters unite to promote the "long-term protection" and wise use of the world's "natural and cultural resources"

V. THE CASE FOR ECOTOURISM IN HONDURAS

- A. Attractive area for tourism
  - 1. Archaeological ruins of Copan
  - 2. Excellent reefs for Scuba diving in Bay Islands
  - 3. extensive rain forest(29%) and cloud forest (16%)
  - 4. serviced by a number of major airlines
- B. No mass tourism --- small hotels in islands and near ruins
- C. Country has established national preserves
- D. UNESCO declared Honduran preserve as part of world patrimony
- E. Deforestion problem could be ameliorated by ecotourism
- F. Environmental organizations in-country to support ecotourism efforts
- G. As second poorest country in the Hemisphere, Honduras could benefit from tourist $$
- H. Model for ecotourism being established by Maya Biosphere Project in neighboring Guatemala, Mexico and Belize

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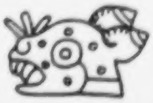

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DEVELOPMENT & CHANGE IN MEXICO - 1991 UPDATE

INTRODUCTION

Mexico always in news; stories about PRI (the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party); immigration; drug trade; pending free trade agreement. Mexico always has had special attraction for the United States and to lesser extent other Western countries; positive & negative aspects of its reputation.

Mexico potentially more important today than ever - stronger than ever; no-turning back of Third World countries; decline of Cold War & new order in Europe.

Mexico a leader in Latin America - but while similar to other countries in some ways, a unique country.

Mexico doing well in its perestroika while its glasnost moving slower.

MEXICAN - U.S. RELATIONS

Positive period now - why?

Bush and Salinas met as president-elects in Houston in 1988; first time in history Mexico a priority for U.S. in time of peace.

Bush and Salinas opted for cooperation; Washington rejected its traditional disregard of Mexico - doesn't look exclusively toward Europe now. Period of conflict of 1975-1980 between two countries over.

Mexico's Motives -

1. Economic reform - liberalizing economy and creating mutual interests
2. Stability in Central America - wants to do away with friction with USA over Panama & Nicaragua.
3. Coordination of Mexican policy toward United States - used to have two approaches - one in finances, the other in politics - now combine these and speak with one voice; Salinas has taken charge.
4. Good personal relationship between Bush & Salinas - they have met eight times. For example, Bush met with Salinas in Monterrey even in face of Gulf War - lots of Mexicans thought Bush wouldn't show.

U.S. Motives -

1. Decline of U.S. trade - makes free trade agreement important to USA; EEC & Japan strong.
2. Texans in power in Washington. Bush & advisors think Mexico is important.
3. Popularity of Salinas - U.S. impressed with his goals

Where is traditional Mexican anti-Americanism?

1. Mexican nationalism is fickle - created by left largely.
2. Mexicans are tired of economic crisis and look to U.S. for help.
3. Mexican nationalism sleeping now, but can always awaken!

Changes in Mexican foreign policy.

1. Pro-non-intervention - this traditional cause Mexico doesn't have large army and it has been victim of U. S. intervention.
2. Mexicans often keep quiet when don't agree with U.S. policies.
3. No. 1 priority for Mexico is economy - other things must take back seat.

Three characteristics of U.S. - Mexican Relations

1. Asymmetry
    70% of Mexican exports to U.S.
    5% of U.S. exports to Mexico

2. Complex multi-item agenda between nations - no simple explanations; many different relationships - narcotics, trade, etc.

3. Two different political systems

Narcotics

One of most explosive items on U.S. - Mexican agenda - quite bad 1985-1986; 1985 watershed year - killing of Camarena and fight against drugs priority for Mexico (1975 Operation Condor - spraying of paraquat)

Relative terms - Mexico spends more money fighting drugs than does USA. Relations ebb and flow on this issue according to attention paid by U.S. politicians - lately U.S. politicians have been preoccupied with U.S. economy, the Gulf War, etc.

**Problem is that U.S. emphasizes "supply" of drugs while Mexico blames "demand for drugs" in USA as source.

Immigration

Increasing violence on border - especially on U.S. side.

Private gangs, against Mexican workers, also robberies
Official violence - over 100 cases where Border Patrol supposedly took part protest by Mexican government; so far no action against USA.

Also some unresolved violence against US citizens in Mexico where drugs involved.

Increased racism in last two years.

Mexican Law forbids preventing free movement of citizens - this causes problems; Mexicans won't police their side of border.

Other Border Issues

Bridges
Pollution/Environment
Boundaries
Water

Trade

Lots of positive effects here
1943-1985 - no bilateral agreements + anarchy in trade; Mexico not part of GATT; accused of dumping etc. - signing of trade agreements, 1986 - 1990. For example, Mexico in 1985 promised not to subsidize.
Free Trade Agreement - big story today in U.S. - Mexican trade relations. Mexico to move away from traditional protectionism. Tariff down from 40% to 10% on imports {U.S. has 4-5% tariffs on average}

MEXICAN POLITICS

Since 1968, the call to open up political system louder - Mexicans know they can't move as rapidly opening up political system as is possible with economy.

Focus today on cleaning up elections, democratizing system more - August 18, 1991, congressional and gubernatorial elections scrutinised by domestic and foreign observers - pending F.T.A. should influence cleaning up elections, etc. PRI won 290 of 300 seats in lower house; combined opposition got 55% of vote in Mexico City. Opponents charge fraud again.

John D. Negroponte, U.S. Ambassador to Mexico suggests that we're witnessing a generational change in Mexico. Sheer necessity has brought about need for change - lots of changes in economics but not limited to this area; concept of role of state in society changing - most areas =

privatization
schools
relations with church

A re-evaluation of rules laid down by Revolution.

President Carlos Salinas de Gortari & others a new generation. Even though a product of the PRI system - Salinas held no previous political office - he's a technocrat as are other leaders today in Mexico. He's convinced that reform of both economy and political system can't go forward at same time - smarter than Gorbachev who tried it all!

Mexican political model since Revolution = an "authoritarian - democratic" one; today Mexicans emphasizing the democratic side.

POLITICAL PARTY BREAKDOWN

PRI has evolved from parties dating back to 1917
PNR, 1929

PRM, 1938 - Lázaro Cárdenas (elected president 1934), embraced labor rights, agrarian reform, and "popular sector."
*Military taken out of party in 1940.

PRI, 1946 - Labor, peasants and "popular sector" bourgeoisie and middle class

Historical origin of Mexican political system

Revolution broadly speaking 1910 - 1940

1. isolated key groups that held power in Mexico and moved them to marginal role and brought in peasants and laborers
2. Brought forth heroes and myths on which political system built
3. Regime that came out of Revolution tried to legitimize itself by elections as well as the Revolution itself.
4. Three groups
    - Carranzistas
    - Villistas
    - Zapatistas

A strong state with strong presidency created - can move in any direction and still stay in revolutionary movement. Built consensus - very broad so everyone sees something for themselves. Often, however, goals contradictory - this became increasingly apparent in 1970's as economic problems came about.

1970-1976	Echeverria
1976-1982	Lopez de Portillo
1982-1988	De la Madrid
1988-1994	Salinas de Gortari

Each, making difficult choices, has hurt one or another element in revolutionary group - this important to understand current problems in Mexican political system.

TODAY the political spectrum consists of three major parties

1. PRI - center party
2. PAN - Catholic/business based; right-wing; strongest in north and in Catholic, more traditional areas such as Guadalajara
3. PRD - nationalist - leftist - headed presently by Cuauhtemoc Cárdenas, son of Lázaro Cárdenas, great leader of Revolution, 1934-1940.

1968 was watershed year - year of student uprisings - government repressed students and revealed ugly side. Critics have said that from that date the Revolutionary Movement dead! This the first Mass Protest! Echeverria, as Minister of Interior, repressed students and then chosen president in 1970. Immediately after 1968, incident, government began to open political system.

As political opening occurred, more criticism of system emerged.

Apertura Politica, 1970-76

reduced voting age
expanded electoral districts

Reforma Politica, 1977

greatly expanded electoral districts
** provided for proportional representation for those who couldn't win simple majority

* NOTE on changing nature of Mexican leaders

In past/Presidents	Today/Presidents
34% no college	1960 - all had college
62% held B.A.S.	93% held B.A. or B.S.
5% held MA/MS	7%+ PhD's.
43% previous governors	3% governors
14% diputados	9% diputados
10% local experience	

More education and less political experience - dramatic change from Cárdenas to present. 1970, first president (Echeverria) with no political experience elected BUREAUCRACY main support for president today.

Recent Cárdenismo emerged because new political arrangement excluded older politicians; Cárdenas supported by local political machines which had been excluded by new bureaucrats. Problem for Cárdenas is that since he lost, his supporters may return to PRI (he came from PRI - his father's party).

Dilemma - structure no longer works to mobilize system; everything has become much more complex - now a large group in middle sector of society that new and must be satisfied.

- risk breaking consensus within party
- question is how to change PRI without losing this consensus

*NOTE on Mexican Army

Army 100,000 in 1920
50,000 in 1930
150,000 - Now

Has shrunk in size and declined in importance because 1) Revolutionary leaders eliminated - bought off; 2) professionalization beginning under Obregon; 3) stabilization of political system reduced role.

Today Mexican army is one of smallest in Latin America, relatively speaking. Little reason to intervene in politics since not threatened - much stability. Army excluded from government in 1940. Not much written about army period!

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Mexico doing good job in selling overseas and in attracting foreign trade. (And also in getting back Mexican $ that took refuge abroad during economic crisis). Current economic developments called "miraculous" by some in view of depth of economic crisis that began in 1981.

Mexico is third largest trading partner with USA, behind Canada, No. 1 and Japan, No. 2. 70% of Mexican trade with USA - Mexico wants to join USA and Canada in one large hemispheric market. Publicly, at least, Mexico is enthusiastic, positive and eager to join in a North American free trade market! Ostensibly, Mexico is for ahead of other Latin American nations in restructuring economy to join first world nations.

Some Economic History

Pre-Columbian and colonial periods, industry consisted of mining; first Indians then Spaniards - Alexander von Humboldt's visit to New Spain late 18th century emphasized success of mining industry. Friars began to cultivate grapes and olives and industry related to agriculture such as tanning and weaving grew (especially true in Queretaro). Later industrial revolution lagged in Mexico. Porfirio Díaz was the architect of railroad growth and it was he who gave out favorable concessions to foreigners to exploit. After French invasion, Mexico began to copy French model - some of first industry came from France. Emphasis on export of raw materials.

Expropriation of oil industry by President Lázaro Cárdenas in 1930s. Development of brewing industry in north. (Corona today is No. 1 importer of beer into USA!) Glass and cardboard industries grew out of breweries.

VISA Group - breweries
ALFA Group - cardboard, steel
VITRO Group - glass
CITSA Group - cellose

ALFA exports steel to Third World Countries - Iraq, Pakistan; VITRO holds stock in U.S. companies, 90% of glass, sand mines, etc. Manufacture of automotive parts big industry in Mexico - TREMEC in Queretaro makes transmissions for Ford, for example.

After Mexican Revolution well under way, consolidation of institutions began, labor laws reformed, and ejido system (common land) established. 1925 Banco de Mexico (first central bank) founded. In 1940's local industries promoted and "import substitution" began (idea that internal market thing to shoot for). After World War II, Mexican industry protected by high tariff barriers and central government accounted for 60% of purchases. Closed economic concentration of industries centered around large cities such as Mexico, D.F.

** MEXICO CITY has long been center and key to Mexico; case of industry also with exception of Monterrey in North.

Population - no one really knows - 18 to 20 million frequently given, though actual city numbers smaller. Probably 8 million in D.F. and another 7-8 million in Metropolitan area spilling over into adjacent states such as Mexico.

Mexico City exemplary of character of Mexican economy on eve of venture into free trade.

Basic services heavily subsidized.

Education and water; i.e., free. Like anarchy - only 20% of houses have water meters

Fuels subsidized - 1981 PEMEX sold $3 billion to internal market, same value in USA $18 billion ($15 billion subsidy)

Jobs created in big cities - rural areas neglected though subsidies there, too. Mexicans can only buy cars made in Mexico - marvelous new VW Beetles.

*Underground economy in Mexico City may be as high as 30% = many earn minimum wage (currently 11,000 pesos per day or less than $4 dollars) but some earn more.

178 days on average to establish new business in Mexico - so many prefer to work outside system. They also escape taxes - "Culture of taxes" different from USA.

Transportation fares deliberately kept low - one price for anywhere on subway.

Budget larger than that for all 31 states - states complain unfair.

City has virtually 1/5 population of Mexico; while 40 million Mexicans live in poverty, many of the 12-17 million who do live well live in Mexico, D.F.

RECENT ECONOMIC HISTORY

Beginning in 1970, Mexico spent more than it had in resources - oil prices were booming and more oil reserves were discovered. Large overseas banks loaned $ to Mexico easily and foreign debt grew larger under President Lopez Portillo and reached $200 million under de la Madid. Once oil prices went down, Mexico lost business and interest rates went up. Mexicans sent capital to safe havens in USA & Europe.

Despite President de la Madrid's oft quoted saying that "he would defend the peso like a dog," the peso had to be devalued in 1982. Structural reforms took place and prices of gasoline and services went up. Many government services were cut and privatization of Mexican industry began. Foreign trade promoted.

Inflation Rates

1980-1987 = 73.8%
1987-1988 = 200%
1988 - Present = 20% roughly

The 1980's were tough - besides drop in oil prices, there was big earthquake in Mexico City in 1985 and stock market crash in October 1987. People stopped keeping $ in banks more than 7 days because they didn't know what was going to happen. Peso was de-valued 6% every month for two years - this inflation prevented financial system from working. 1982 banks were nationalized under Lopez Portillo.

With economic crisis, real wages took severe dive but employment didn't suffer and as result there was no social crisis. At all levels people had to make do - many went into informal economy. Mexican families cushioned crisis for family members, helped one another - strong feature of Mexican life.

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ECONOMIC SECTOR -

Mexico joined GATT in 1986 and has significantly lowered tariffs - some protection one agricultural goods, for example. Oil export has been limited and emphasis on manufactured goods. The pending Free trade Act is all one hears in Mexico today, and it seems to be favored by everyone from taxi drivers, to entrepreneurs, to academics, though skepticism exists in some circles. Mexicans want to join USA and Canada in larger market. Recent changes in Europe have hurt Mexico because Europeans now looking eastward for greater economic opportunities. Mexico pushed toward greater cooperation with USA as result.

Privatization is the by-word now! Banks (naturalized in 1982) going private again - 3 already; 15 to go. Airlines also going private and the previously government owned telephone company has been sold to private interests. Mexican nationals are buying companies and foreigners now may also purchase Mexican businesses up to a specified size. Some of strongest Mexican companies (from Monterrey) also buying U.S. businesses. Growth of Mexican private sector should provide healthy growth - contrast with past where growth came out of government investment.

Advantages of F. T. A. for United States -

1. Proximity of Mexico to U.S.

2. Availability of Natural resources
3. Cheap labor
4. Stability and predictability of Mexican government
5. Late start and problems for U.S. in exploiting Eastern European trade.
6. Existence of sizable trade between two countries at present
7. Greater market for U.S. goods and services
8. Help make U.S.A. more competitive on global scale.
9. Help create permanent jobs
10. If U. S. doesn't move, other nations will scoop U.S. opportunities in Mexico - Japan, for example
11. U.S. needs Mexico more now that the European community is growing stronger and cooperating. First time ever that Mexico is a priority for United States

Reality and Downside to Free Trade Euphoria

1. Mexico should do what it does best - cannot compete with U.S. or Taiwan.

2. Some industries that already exporting will survive while others used to protection may not.

3. F.T.A. must produce jobs for Mexicans or PRI will lose power.

4. Candidly, privatization moving very slowly - government still owns stock in companies. Even telephone company not totally privatized - principally change in management says Prof. Raul Alfredo Cardenas Herrera of I.T.E.S.M.

5. Restructuring of industries that not competitive will cause loss of jobs.

6. Petroleum industry will remain nationalized for foreseeable future.

7. Environmental problems in Mexico overwhelming - President Salinas shutdown of big PEMEX plant a much heralded affair to curry favor for F.T.A.

* NOTE on Maquiladoras

"In-bond" border factories which import raw material duty-free and export finished products, with U. S. Tariffs paid only on the value added. Encouraged by Mexican government to take advantage of U.S. trade legislation.

. improved life in border areas
. tens of 1000s of new jobs created in area that previously had no industry
. employed cheap non-unionized labor. Lots of women so that didn't help male employment that much until 1980's when more males hired

. jobs in
        electrical assembly plants
        textile factories and other labor intensive industries
        brought migration to border region

. Japanese own approximately 50% of maquiladoras

Lots of criticism of maquiladoras as exploitive

. high turnover rates - little security
. plants move operations when economic times tough
. about 500 plants produce toxic waste
. inhumane treatment
. mangers frequently live on U.S. side of border

Prof. Cárdenas of ITESM, however, claims that these operations good for Mexico - provide jobs - plants clean and well run, for most part

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Virtually no land in Mexico where large scale agriculture profitable - not enough water, topography not suited. Only 10% of land arable.

35% of Mexico below 500 meters
50-55% above 1000 meters
70% of country desert or semi-desert
Mexico imports corn, beans and soybeans
Much pollution - rivers and streams
deforestation a big problem
rural area neglected - more attention to cities - though water,
        pesticides and fertilizers subsidized
migration to urban areas continues (700,000 to Mexico City annually)
26% of work force in agriculture; produces only 8% of national wealth

Land Tenure System

Land distribution an important issue during Mexican Revolution. Land given to peasants and laws enacted to prevent sale to large landowners. Land given collectively to peasants in ejidos, a system that dates back to pre-Columbian times. Each ejido has own land with legal papers - may be inherited by son.

Ejidos get $ from government loans - peasants must work own land and can't associate with company. Can't mortgage.

> * Visited Ajusco, an ejido in mountains outside Mexico City; population 10,000 (plus or minus) at 3200 meters (9600 feet). A cooperative enterprise that raises crops and runs cattle. Rather poor. Witnessed ceremony between local ejido leaders and PRI government officials pledging cooperation and mutual support. Government apparently had provided loan for large building - concrete block with tin roof and a loading dock - for storage purposes - first ever for ejido! Beautiful setting, cool and clear. Contrast between locals - cowboy hats and boots with city officials dramatic.

Two-thirds ejidos have forests; Mexican forest assets tied up in ejidos but not used efficiently - only 5 % use forests for income; most don't have own sawmills. Many forests cut down to get $ but not reforested so at best a short term fix. Peasants can't afford long-term process of reforestation. Problems compounded by resort to raising crops on forest land. (Carbonaras a problem too.)

Smallest plots for agriculture but as size grows, land increasingly used for cattle grazing. Sawmill production best in tropical areas where forests grown quickly. Must get $ into ejidos - they are capital starved. Ejidos also threatened by legal expropriation and illegal invasions and selling.

Myth that lots of Indian villages exist in Mexico. Case study of small village, San Miguel de Canoa, located at 8000 feet on mountain (Mt. La Malinche)

. Death rates way down - population explosion due to better health (From 6-10,000 population) has put heavy toll on natural resources.
. Land depleted - use fertilizer but it destroys beans that traditionally rotated with corn, so resort to more fertilizer.
. Cost of fertilizers earned by young men who migrate to urban areas to earn higher wages.
. Most medical problems taken to curanderas.

San Miguel de Canoa exists in sharp contrast with farming and prosperity of Queretaro, which has Mexico's best land. Mexican Revolution land redistribution didn't affect Queretaro much, so farms there still relatively large (100 acres). High density, black clay good quality that holds moisture well. Such contrast in prosperity and poverty not uncommon in Mexico.

POTPOURRI

. Mexico most populous Spanish-speaking country in world - second most populous in Latin America

. 40 cities in Mexico with over 300,000

. population growth slowed to 3% per year - aim for 1% growth rate

. 50% of people are 15 years old or younger

. Mexican work force 25% population but produces only 1/8 products

. 1991: 89 million Mexicans
USA = 245 million
Canada = 26 million

. Literacy in Mexico 89-90% (USA = 96%)

. Average education 6 years

. GNP per capita
Mexico = $2,245
Canada = $17,000
USA = $19,000

. Largest number and best statistics on Mexican economy compiled in Texas - Mexican stats unreliable.

. No university connection to development of technology in Mexico as in USA

. Catholic Church still powerful in Mexico despite history and separation of church and state; those who convert to Protestantism frequently seen as traitors.

. Few European countries rival Mexico in recycling.

. Mexico City has 1/5th of nation's population and 1/3 of nation's economic activity

- Minimum wage = 11,000 pesos per day; 350,000 pesos per month

- Presently Houston used more as port city than Vera Cruz by Mexico (less expensive)

- Mexico not member of OPEC

- Estimate that 30% of labor force in Mexico made up of women

- Mexicans still use DDT & other harmful chemicals, including lead paint.

- Alternate driving days in Mexico City not working - people buying extra cars - frequently old ones that use more gasoline.

- Still Mexicans more concerned about environment than Canadians or Americans - have closed 300+ companies (temporarily) for polluting.

- Mexico uses more energy than USA, Spain, Italy & Japan - explained by relative cost of fuels

- Water brought into Mexico City at high cost; pure water very cheap, only 6% recycled

- Mexico one of most bio-diverse countries in world

    # 1 in reptiles
    # 1 in varieties of evergreens
    # 11 in birds
    # 4 in flowering plants

- Mexicans don't have buy-outs of companies as in USA: more family oriented businesses

- 63% of Mexican exports to USA (1990)

- 66.1% Mexican imports from USA (1990)

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Archeology in Mexico as an Image-Enhancer for Chicano Students

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Archeology in Mexico as an Image-Enhancer for Chicano Students

There is no doubt that Chicanos as a people are extremely proud of the achievements they have attained in their native country in spite of the obstacles that discrimination, political disenfranchisement, poverty and racism have posed for them since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed in 1848 between Mexico, the Chicanos' cultural primogenitor, and the United States, the Chicanos' social and political homeland. However, because the educational system of our nation in essence ignores the contributions, cultural and otherwise, Chicanos have made to their country, it is not surprising that alienation becomes entrenched in many of the students this same system purports to service.

For six weeks during the summer of 1991, thanks to the Fulbright-Hays Seminars Abroad Program, the opportunity to create a number of lessons to be used in the high school classroom which would be especially helpful to the Chicano students became quite apparent. The goals of these lessons would be to enhance the self-concept of Chicano students and to forge stronger ties with their parents. These goals would be accomplished through a number of objectives:

1. The major pre-Hispanic civilizations of Central America, from the Olmec to the Aztec; and

2. the post-Colonial major figures and movements would be introduced as well.

These objectives would rely heavily on the use of visual aids such as slides or videos in order to take advantage of the students' reliance on visual stimuli. Although the fellowship would take it's twenty participants to Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, the concentrated schedule of seminars made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to accomplish the original goals. Reluctantly, objective number two had to be modified in that the first objective could be covered, albeit in a much more modest format, within the seminar's time-frame. Therefore once all factors were taken into consideration, it was decided that archeological sites in and around Mexico City would be visited, photographed and researched. The sites, however, would be those which usually are not part of a travel agency's usual itinerary, yet easy enough to find for the more adventurous researcher. The following list will name and briefly discuss those sites which are rich in history and scenery.

a. The Pyramid of Tenayuca, located about six miles northeast of Mexico City, was the site of the capital of the Chichimecs during the post-Classic period after the fall of Tula. This city-state reached its culmination under the leadership of Xoloti, as Nigel Davies points out in The Toltec Heritage; during the 14th Century the Aztecs would conquer it. The pyramid offers the best example of architecture of the Aztec style.

b. The Pyramid of Santa Cecilia, found less that two miles northeast of the Pyramid of Tenayuca, has the distinction of being the complete extant Aztec temple. Both of these pyramids are just outside the Federal District, in the state of Mexico.

c. Teotenango, located less than twenty miles southeast of the city of Toluca, capital of the state of Mexico, was conquered by the Aztecs in the 15th Century. It's name means "Place of the Divine Walls", and is one of the best preserved sites in Mexico. Teotenango, according to Nigel Davies, is associated by the written record with Tollan Xicocotitlan, the legendary Toltec capital. Additionally, because the extensive ruins of this large fortress are found on the highlands, the surrounding valley is marvelous.

d. Malinalco, though smaller in scale than is Teotenango, is simply breathtaking. It's main center, a monolithic temple which was carved from the side of a mountain, represents the womb of earth where the eagle and the jaguar warriors rest. To the Aztecs, who took this city in the 15th century also, Malinalco was the sacred ground where the Aztec youth of the ruling class were transformed into warriors of the jaguar and eagle orders. This spectacular site is about two hours southwest of Mexico City or about half-an-hour southeast of Teotenango in the state of Mexico.

e. Xochicalco, the "Place of the House of Flowers" in the Aztec language, is in the state of Morelos, approximately twenty-four miles or half-an-hour southwest of it's capital city Cuernavaca. This fortified city reached its apex during the protopost-Classic period, serving as a link between the great Teotihuacan and the legendary Tula of the Toltecs. The pyramid of the Plumed Serpents attests to a meeting, of a sort, of scientific congress before the 12th century which purpose was the correcting of the calendar, as well as to the importance of the cult of Quetzalcoatl. The architecture of the city, on the other hand, speaks of a confluence of cultures that were not only native to the central area but to the east and west likewise.

This list, although not in the least lengthy, will provide the more pioneer-spirited folk an opportunity to visit archeological locations that may not be in the usual travel itinerary. Because of the affordability of public transportation in Mexico to tourists, the above five archeological zones are indeed an obligatory sojourn. Then, after the senses have soaked in these magnificent sights, let your camera capture what it can. Your mind then will help organize the plethora of information available, combine these with music of the Indians of the Americas, and the minds of your students will soar; and so will their pride in themselves and in their parents.

Trade between the United States and Mexico and Central America

1991 Seminar Abroad in Mexico and Central America

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Abstract

The teaching experience, Trade between the U.S. and Mexico and Central America, describes many aspects of the importance of Mexico as the United States' second largest trading partner and the growing importance of American and Central American trade. Students learn the importance of Mexico's and Central America's location by drawing physical, political and economic maps. Interpretations of an economic cartoon, trade is a two-way street, and explanations of the laws of absolute and comparative advantage help students to understand the advantages and disadvantages of U.S., Mexican and Central American trade. The United States-Mexico Free-trade Agreement opens many doors of increased trade for both partners while it builds on the existing trade relations. Students' discussions of their surveys of Mexican and Central American products for sale in Cleveland area stores add to their understandings of these trade relations. Students' simulation of settling disputes arising out of the U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement adds to their appreciation of the necessity of peaceful settlement of international disputes. A visit by a businessman in the Junior Achievement's Applied Economics Program gives students additional insights into the advantages and disadvantages of international trade and techniques for resolving trade conflicts. An interview by a school newspaper reporter and the students' discussion of the school newspaper's article reinforces the students' experiences in the international trade experience.

Rationale

Mexico, Central America and the United States are important trading partners, and this trade will continue to grow in the 1990s. High school economics students need to know about this international trade for three reasons. After December 31, 1992, the European Economic Community will increase its economic challenges to North America because of increased steps towards integration of European economies. Secondly, more and more American unskilled and skilled manufacturing jobs will move to Mexico and Central America to take advantage of low labor costs. Thirdly, the minimum Ohio Social Studies curriculum of American history and government and economics neglects the importance of Mexico and Central America in Latin American international relations. This teaching experience will try to promote an understanding of international trade and an understanding and appreciation of Latin American people involved in this trade.

Narrative

The teaching experience will have the following **goals:**

a. understanding of the meaning, advantages and disadvantages of international trade;

b. understanding of the economic history of the relations between the U.S. and Mexico, and the U.S. and Central America;

c. analysis of the present-day trade between Mexico and the U.S., and the U.S. and Central America;

d. development of a model for better relations between the U.S. and Mexico;

e. demonstration of the relevance of Mexican and Central American trade to high school students.

f. to use community resources in teaching the importance of American and Mexican and Central American trade.

The teaching experience will have the following **objectives:**

Martin Luther King, Jr., Law & Public Service Magnet High School, 12th grade, economic students will complete:

a. economic, physical, and political map of Mexico and Central America;

b. written and oral discussion questions on selected readings on international trade, Mexican and Central American economic history, Mexican and Central economies, governments and cultures, and key issues in inter-American foreign relations;

c. participation in a simulation on settling disputes arising out of the U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement;

d. survey/inventory of Mexican and Central American products for sale in Cleveland area stores;

e. an interview by a reporter of the school newspaper about students' experiences in the international trade project.

f. take notes and question a Cleveland businessperson on the importance of Latin American trade to his/her company.

Summary of Economic Concepts Taught:

a. scarcity
b. opportunity cost
c. free market
d. supply, demand and market price
e. entrepreneurship
f. profit
g. factors of production
h. allocation of resources
i. competition
j. productivity
k. economy of scale
l. money
m. rate of exchange
n. balance of payments
o. international trade
p. comparative advantage
q. capitalism
r. free trade

Procedures Used and the Sequence Followed:

a. Students' completion and discussion of the map of Mexico and Central America;

b. Students' completion and discussion of selected readings and discussion questions;

c. Simulation of a settlement of a dispute between the U.S. and Mexico;

d. Students' completion of their surveys/inventories of Mexican and Central American products and their reports on them;

e. Students will take notes and question a Cleveland businessperson on his/her company's trade with Latin America.

f. Students' interviews for the school newspaper and class discussion of this article.

Lesson 1: Mexican and Central American Geography

Objectives:

To complete a physical, political and economic map of Mexico and Central America.

To realize the proximity of Mexican and Central American markets to the U.S.

Procedures:

1. First day, distribute map Handouts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 in the Appendix.

   Indicate the locations of atlases and almanacs in the media center.

   Instruct students to fill in a physical, political and economic map of Central America and another one of Mexico. Advise students to complete their own two maps but to work cooperatively with two other students. Check to insure that a Spanish-speaking, or Spanish-language, student is in each group.

2. On the second day, conduct a "Jeopardy" contest between several teams on the capitals, rivers, mountains, bodies of water and products of Mexico and Central American nations. Award ten points for each correct answer. Winning team will have the most points during the class period.

3. The teacher will display four of the outstanding maps on the bulletin board in the economics teacher's classroom and four additional ones in the Spanish teacher's classroom.

   A student photographer will photograph the maps in the Spanish teacher's classroom.

Lesson 2: Why Does the United States Trade with Foreign Nations?

Objectives:

To understand the concept of interdependence.

To explain international trade.

To describe the advantages and disadvantages of international trade.

To use community resources by inviting a businessperson to talk to the classes.

Procedures:

1. On the third day, supervise the reading of Ch 13, The Global Economy, Applied Economics and the completion of Handout 6, Economic Skills Lab, Interpreting Cartoons on the nature of international trade, Applied Economics Study Guide, Ch 13, The Global Economy, page 164 and Handout 7, Using the Laws of Absolute and Comparative Advantage, page 165. Discuss the questions and answers with the whole class.

2. On the fourth day, a Cleveland businessperson will talk to the class on the importance for Latin American trade for his/her company. Students will take selected notes and ask relevant questions.

3. For homework, distribute Handout 8, Learning Outcome 6C Trade, Citizenship Review Program, pp. 43-44. Assign all the questions to be completed and to be put into the students' notebooks.

Lesson 3: Free-trade Agreement between Mexico and the U.S.

Objectives:

To understand the history of international relations between the U.S. and Mexico.

To analyze Mexican-American trade.

To understand the free-trade agreement between the U.S. and Mexico.

Procedures:

1. On the fifth day, review Lesson 2: Why does the U.S. trade with foreign nations? by asking selected questions on the homework assignment. For example, #2 Which of the following statements best states the main idea of the table, American Dependence on Trade: Imports As A Percent of Consumption, 1984.

2. Distribute Handout 9, U.S. and Mexico are neighbors, like it or not.

   Guide the silent and/or oral reading of this handout.

   Direct students to summarize this article by asking the following questions: who, what, where, when, why and how in their notebooks.

   Lead a discussion to ascertain the students understanding of the information in the handout.

Lesson 4: Trade between Mexico and the U.S.

Objectives:

To learn the top American exports and the top imports from Mexico.

To understand the benefits and disadvantages of this trade to the U.S. and Mexico.

Procedures:

1. On the 6th day, distribute Handout 10, Visions vary on benefits of free trade, USA TODAY, May 14, 1991; and, Handout 11, Put the brakes on free-trade, by Ralph Nader; and, Move ahead with Mexico trade talks; and, Handout 12, Trading with Mexico; and, Handout 13, Rural Areas Have Yet To Feel Effect Of Econommic Reforms, The News (Mexico City), 7/13/91.

   Divide the class into two debating teams. Direct students to prepare arguments for, and against, free trade between the U.S. and Mexico. Ask the students to pick three members for each team.

2. On the 7th day, students will conduct a debate on the issue of free trade between the U.S. and Mexico.

   Students will ask each other questions after the formal debate.

3. A student reporter will write an article for The Unicorn, the school newspaper, on the debate and the winning team. This reporter will also interview, and write about, about students' experiences in the international trade project.

Lesson 5: Economic Development of Central Amerian Nations

Objectives:

To learn about economic products of Central American nations.

To understand the benefits of trade between the U.S. and Central America.

Procedures:

1. On the 8th day, in preparation for a class discussion and for a homework assignment, distribute many readings about the economies, products, and social and cultural conditions of Central American nations. Direct students to summarize one article by asking the who, what, where when, why and how questions. They will keep their answers in their notebooks.
   See bibliography and appendix for selected articles. Ask students to use The Readers' Guide to find additional articles interesting to them.
2. On the 9th day, lead a class discussion on the economies and products of Central American nations.

Lesson 6: Survey of Mexican and Central American Products

Objectives:

To complete a student-made survey of Mexican and Central American products used in the U.S..

To present reports based on students' surveys of Mexican and Central American products.

Procedures:

1. On the 10th day, divide the class into several student groups that will prepare survey questions on Mexican and Central American products. Group leaders will present their questions to the entire class. Groups will revise their survey questions.

   Students will take one, or two, days to complete their surveys for homework.

2. On the 11th day, group leaders will present the results of their surveys to the entire class. A student reporter of the school newspaper will interview selected students and write an article about their the results of their surveys.

Lesson 7: American-Mexican Trade Dispute

Objectives:

To understand American and Mexican viewpoints on a selected trade dispute.

To analyze the alternatives available to settle a trade dispute.

Procedures:

1. On the 12th day, review Lesson 7 Mexican and Central American Products by asking several students to report on the results of their surveys.

2. Divide the class into two groups, i.e., one American and one Mexican. Supervise students' researching in the media center, and discussing, the answers to the questions below:

   The American group's questions:
   a. Why does Mexico exclude American gasoline corporations and products for sale in Mexico?
   b. Why should American petroleum products be permitted to be sold in Mexico?
   c. Why does Mexico prevent American banks from doing business in Mexico?
   d. Why should American banks have the opportunity to do business in Mexico?

   The Mexican group's questions:
   a. Why does the U.S. exclude Mexican navel oranges?
   b. Why does the U.S. exclude Mexican avocados?
   c. Why should all Mexican fruits and vegetables be allowed for sale in the U.S.?

2. On the 13th day, ask the two groups to agree upon a dozen rules for resolving their differences. Ask the groups to present their cases on the disputed products and services. Have the groups discuss their problems. Set a time limit for compromises. Finally, group leaders will announce the compromises.

   During a debriefing time, explain that it may take many years to resolve a trade dispute. Indeed, some trade disputes may remain unresolved, for example, Japan still refuses the sale of American rice in Japan.

Lesson 8: Evaluation of the Unit on the Development of Mexico and Central America

Objectives:

To summarize the goals and objectives of the unit.

To evaluate the students' achievement of the goals and objectives of the unit.

Procedures:

1. Students will organize their notebooks and review the unit for homework.
2. On the 14th day, students will take a test on the unit. Notebooks will be collected and graded after the unit test.

Test on the Development of Mexico and Central America

Directions: Answer in complete sentences with many examples.

1. What does the geography of Mexico and Central America tell you about their importance to the United States?
2. Explain the advantages and disadvantages of the Mexican-American trade?
3. Why is compromise so important in settling trade disputes between the U.S. and Mexico? Explain.
4. Why is Central American trade so important to both the U.S. and Central America? Give examples drawn from the Cleveland experience.
5. What did you find valuable in your study of the development of Mexico and Central America? Explain.

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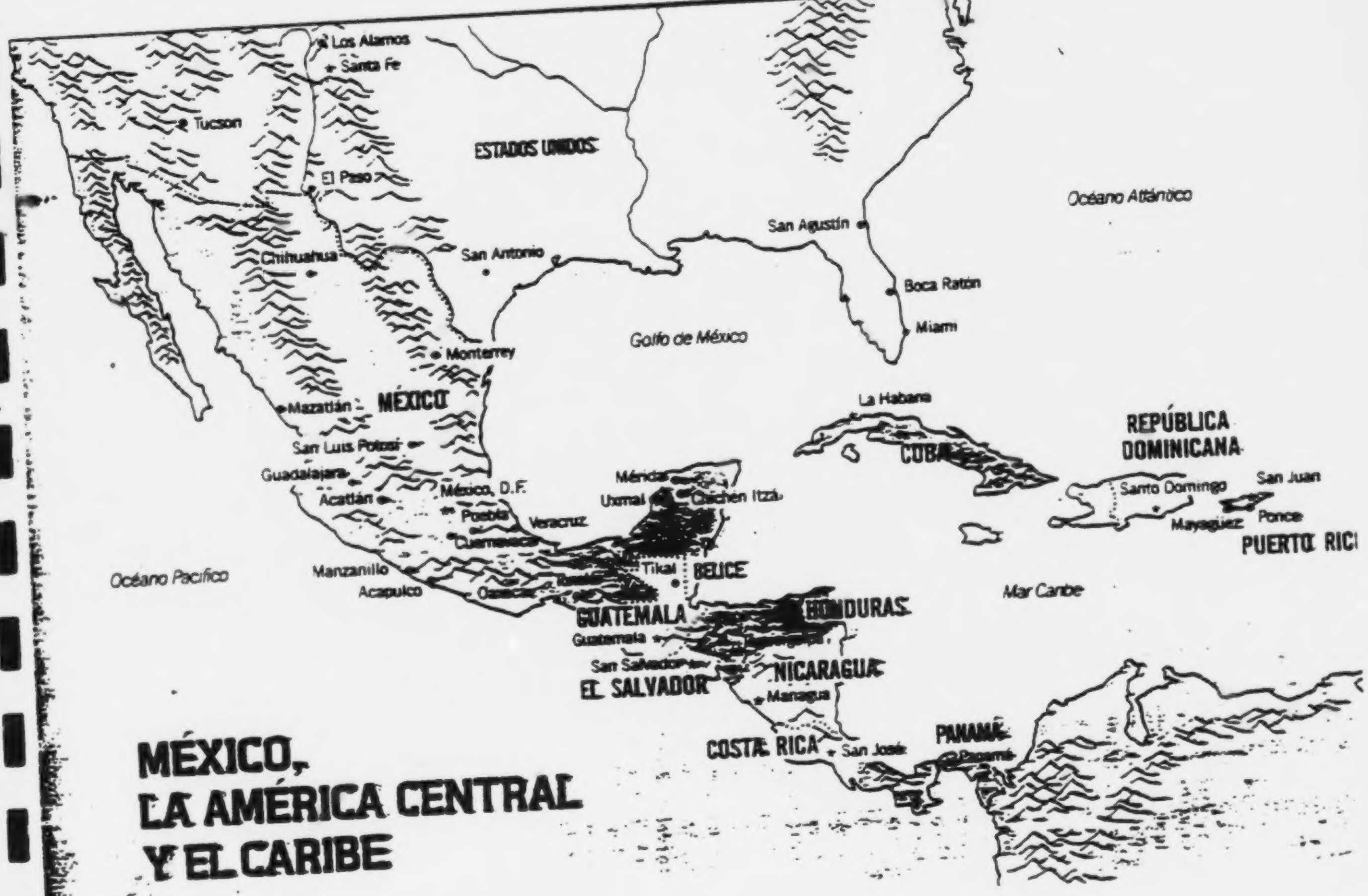
APPENDIX

HANDOUT 1


Los Alamos
Santa Fe
Tucson
ESTADOS UNIDOS
El Paso
Océano Atlántico
San Agustín
Chihuahua
San Antonio
Boca Ratón
Miami
Golfo de México
Monterrey
Mazatlán
MÉXICO
La Habana
REPÚBLICA DOMINICANA
San Luis Potosí
CUBA
Guadalajara
México, D.F.
Mérida
Uxmal
Chichén Itzá
Santo Domingo
San Juan
Acatlán
Puebla
Veracruz
Cuernavaca
Mayagüez
Ponce
PUERTO RIC
Tikal
BELICE
Océano Pacífico
Manzanillo
Acapulco
Oaxaca
Mar Caribe
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
Guatemala
San Salvador
NICARAGUA
EL SALVADOR
Managua
PANAMÁ
COSTA RICA
San José
Panamá

MÉXICO,
LA AMÉRICA CENTRAL
Y EL CARIBE

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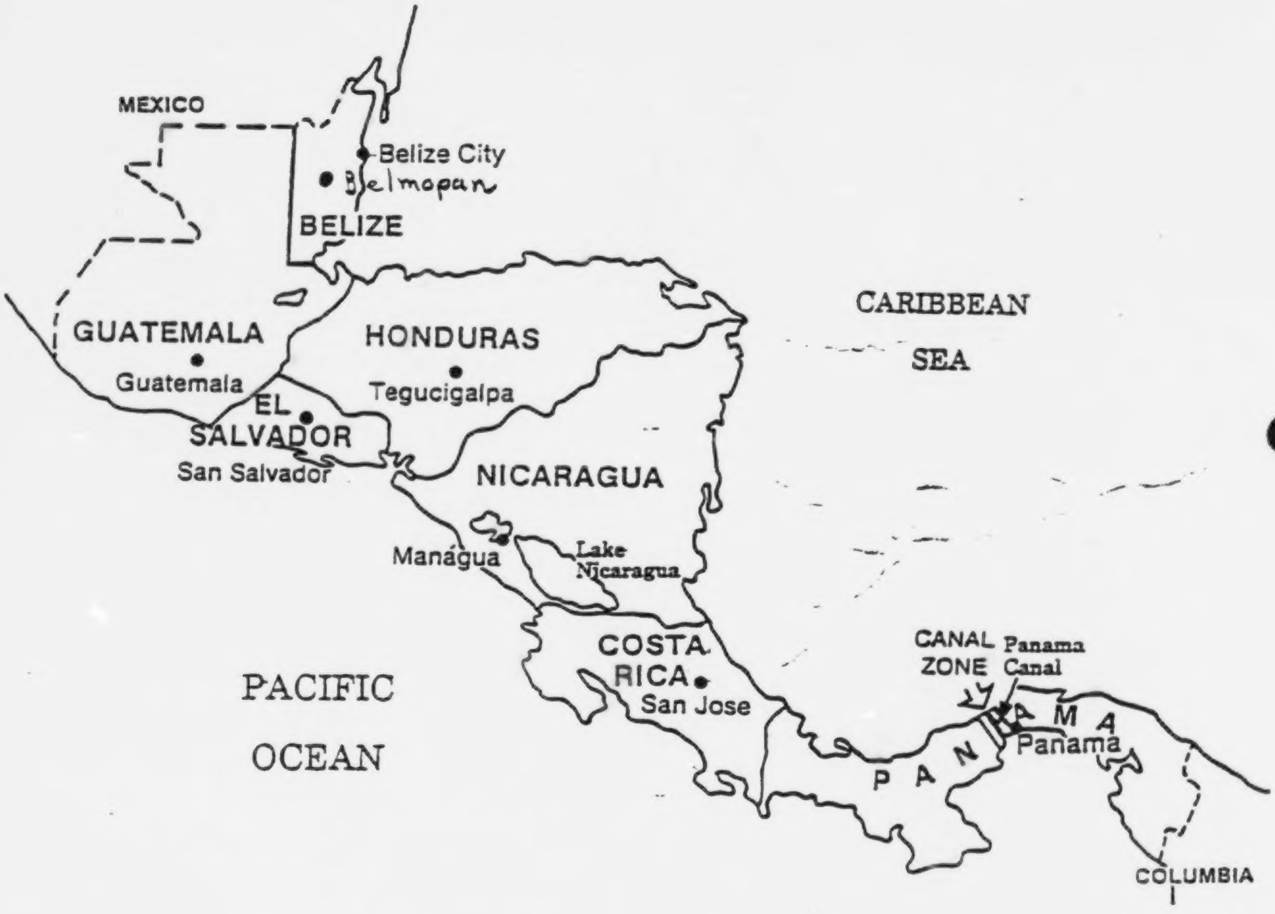
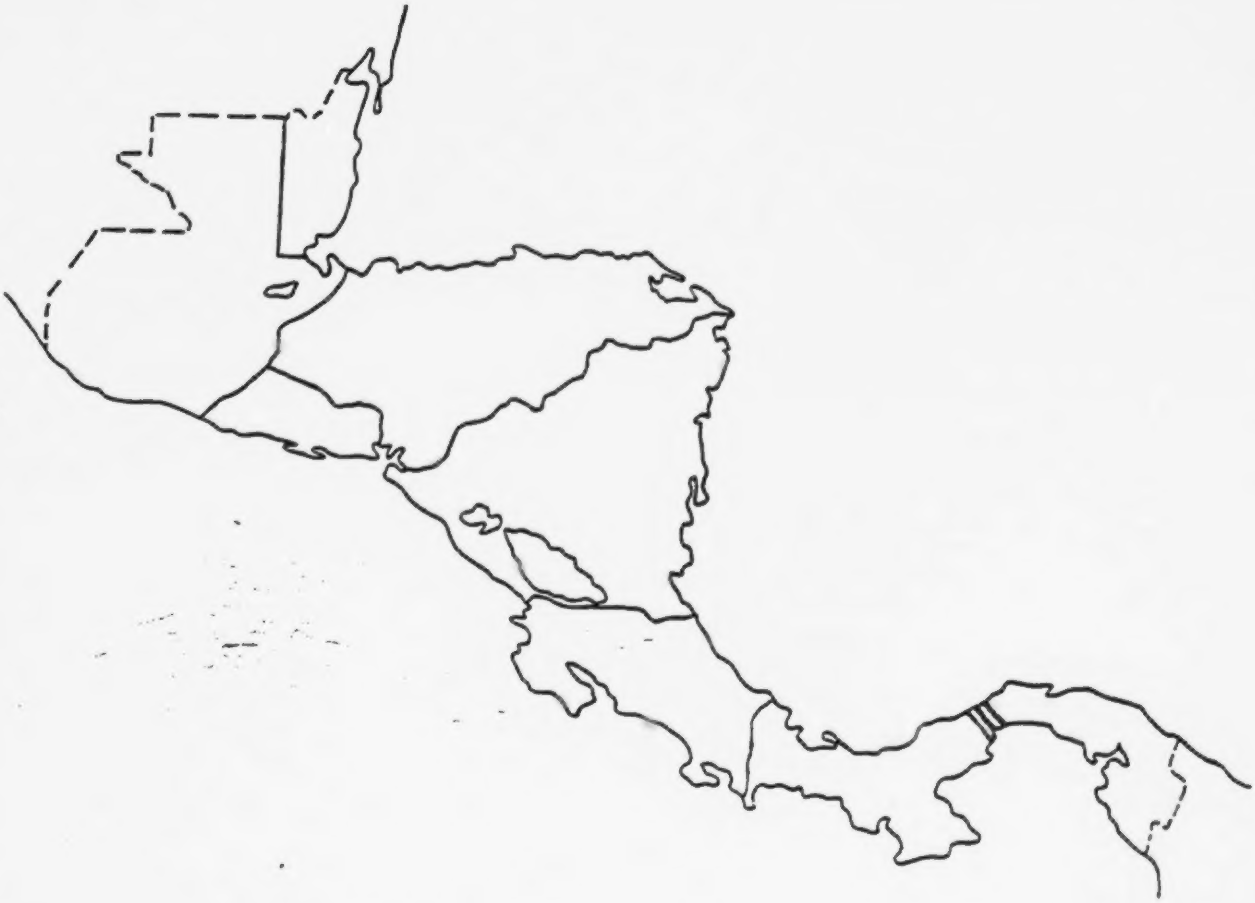
HANDOUT 2

CENTRAL AMERICA


MEXICO
Belize City
Belmopan
BELIZE
GUATEMALA
Guatemala
HONDURAS
Tegucigalpa
EL SALVADOR
San Salvador
NICARAGUA
Managua
Lake Nicaragua
CARIBBEAN SEA
COSTA RICA
San Jose
PACIFIC OCEAN
CANAL ZONE
Panama Canal
PANAMA
Panama
COLUMBIA

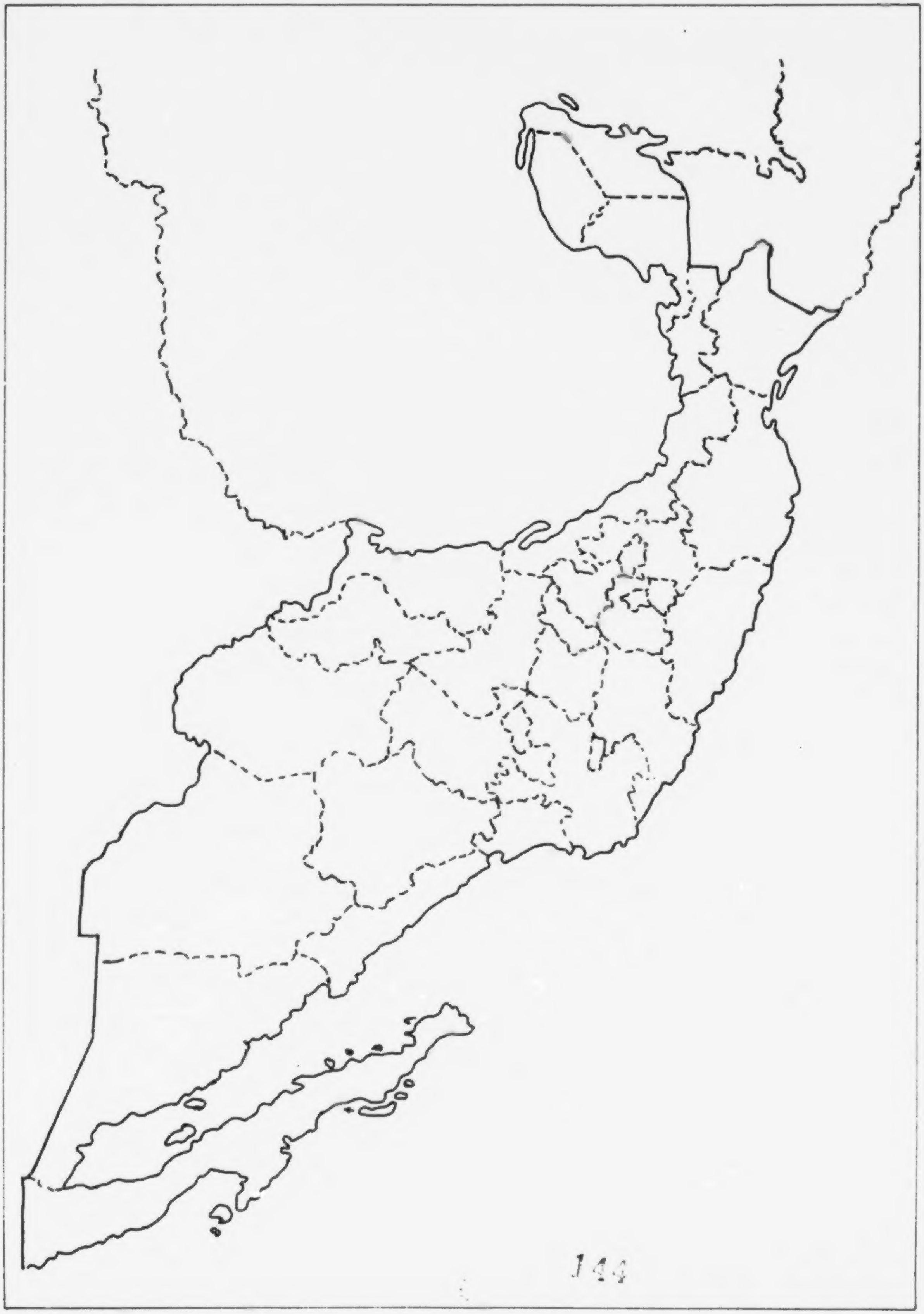
HANDOUT 3

CENTRAL AMERICA



HANDOUT 4

Mexico



HANDOUT 5

Economy of Mexico

This map shows the major uses of land in Mexico. It also shows where the leading farm, fishing, mineral, and forest products are produced. It also locates the nation's chief manufacturing centers.

Tuna
Sardines
Snappers
Corn
Wheat
North Pacific Ocean
Coffee
Shrimp

☐ Chiefly cultivated land

▨ Grazing land

■ Chiefly forest land

▩ Generally unproductive land

☐ Fishing

• Mineral deposit

• Manufacturing center

WORLD BOOK map

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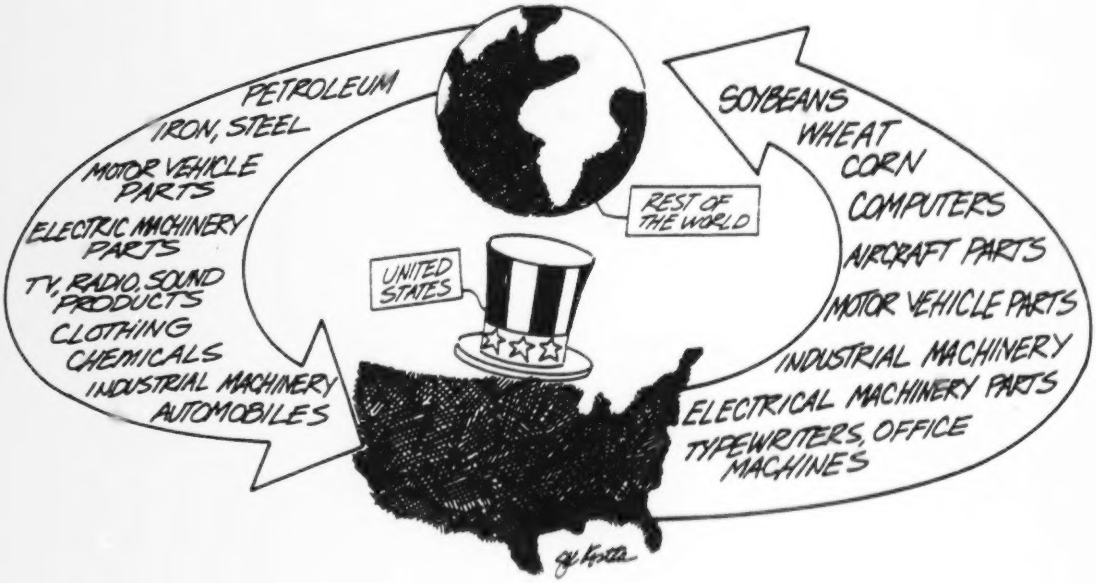
HANDOUT 6

Name Date

ECONOMIC SKILLS LAB

Interpreting Cartoons

Study the cartoon below and answer the questions that follow.


PETROLEUM
IRON, STEEL
MOTOR VEHICLE PARTS
ELECTRIC MACHINERY PARTS
TV, RADIO, SOUND PRODUCTS
CLOTHING
CHEMICALS
INDUSTRIAL MACHINERY
AUTOMOBILES
REST OF THE WORLD
UNITED STATES
SOYBEANS
WHEAT
CORN
COMPUTERS
AIRCRAFT PARTS
MOTOR VEHICLE PARTS
INDUSTRIAL MACHINERY
ELECTRICAL MACHINERY PARTS
TYPEWRITERS, OFFICE MACHINES

1. What title would you give this cartoon?

2. How does the cartoon show that trade is a "two-way street"?

3. Why is international trade an important issue for people in all countries?

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QUESTIONS FOR ECONOMIC REASONING AND DISCUSSION

1. Trade among people and nations has ocurred for thousands of years. What are the advantages of trade? Why do many people seem to fear trade with other countries?

2. American steel production is down. Many steelworkers are unemployed. The equipment in many steel mills is out of date and sits idle. A bill before Congress proposes high tariffs and quotas to protect the steel industry from imported steel.
   a. Explain how each of the following parties might respond to the issue.

      Steel industry — Iron and steelworkers
      Consumers — Auto industry

   b. Considering the position of different groups in the economy, do you believe it would be a wise or unwise economic decision to protect the steel industry from foreign producers? Explain your position.

3. Read the two competing position statements below and answer the questions that follow.

   Position 1: I believe in buying American products rather than those made by foreign companies, particularly goods such as automobiles. Americans benefit when American companies prosper.

   Position 2: I believe in buying the highest quality automobile for the dollar, regardless of which country produced it. In the long run, we all benefit because competition stimulates companies to improve products and distributes resources efficiently.

   a. How much sense does Position 1 make? Do you see any flaws in this argument?

   b. How much sense does Position 2 make? Do you see any flaws in this argument?

   c. Which position do you believe is the stronger argument or statement? Explain.

4. The following questions are based on the Reading for Enrichment entitled "The Tariff Issue in American History" in Chapter 13 of your textbook and on your knowledge of American history.
   a. Why was the "infant industry" argument used to justify protective tariffs by the Washington Administration?
   b. How did high American tariffs in the 1920's help to bring on the Great Depression of the 1930's?
   c. For much of American history, the question of tariffs remained a *sectional issue*, one held by people according to region where they live.
      - Why was the tariff a sectional issue?
      - Is sectionalism still a factor in the tariff question?

5. Describe the position you would take on high tariffs, quotas, or voluntary restraints on automobiles manufactured in Japan if you were:
   a. The owner of an American automobile company.
   b. A worker in that automobile plant.
   c. A consumer interested in buying a new automobile.
   d. An American manufacturer of computer parts to be sold in Japan.

6. How do customs unions and trade associations promote and restrict international trade?

7. a. Explain the relationship between the balance of payments and the value of the dollar in foreign exchange markets.
   b. What effect does the value of the U.S. dollar have on American living standards?

HANDOUT 7

Name Date

ECONOMIC SKILLS LAB

Using the Laws of Absolute and Comparative Advantage

Study the lists of major U.S. imports and exports and answer the questions that follow.

Major U.S. Imports	Major U.S. Exports
Petroleum	Motor vehicle parts
Motor vehicle parts	Aircraft parts
Iron, steel	Industrial machinery
Electrical machinery parts	Electrical machinery parts
TV, radio sound products	Computers
Clothing	Typewriters, office machines
Chemicals	Corn
Industrial machinery	Wheat
Automobiles	Soybeans

1. List products that are major U.S. exports but not major imports.

______, ______, ______, ______, ______.

a. Based on your list, make a general statement about the types of products the U.S. exports.

______

______

b. Use the laws of absolute or comparative advantage to explain why the United States sucessfully exports these products.

______

______

2. List products that are major U.S. imports but not major exports.

______, ______, ______, ______, ______.

a. Based on your list, make a general statement about the types of products the U.S. imports.

______

______

b. Use the laws of absolute or comparative advantage to explain why the United States imports these products.

______

______

Name Date

3. List the products that the United States both exports and imports in major quantities.

_______________, _______________, _______________, _______________, _______________.

   a. Use the laws of absolute or comparative advantage to explain why the United States would import a product that it also produces in large quantities.

   ____

   ____

4. Apply what you have learned and use the law of comparative advantage explain why the United States buys clothing from and ships wheat to a nation such as Taiwan. How do both nations benefit from the trade?

   ____

   ____

LEARNING OUTCOME 6C

Trade

INFORMATION

INFORMATION CAPSULE

The ways in which you are able to get the things you want or need (food, clothes, money, tapes) and the ways countries get what they want or need are alike in some ways. The main way is through **trade**.

For example, you trade your skill in bagging groceries in a supermarket for money or cash. With the money you buy clothes and a Walkman. You specialize in helping customers. You and the supermarket are dependent on each other, or **interdependent**, because you each have what the other wants.

This is also true of the nations of the world. Resources (timber, iron, diamonds, uranium) are not distributed equally in every country. Some nations have more of one resource than they need and other nations have little or none of it, but more of something else. Oil is a good example. Most nations need it but few have enough to supply their needs.

For example, the United States produces more wheat than we need, but doesn't have nearly enough chromium for making the trim on cars. The USSR wants wheat badly but has more chromium than it needs. So the U.S. and the USSR trade chromium for wheat. The two countries are **interdependent**.

Specialization is the key to trade. In general, each nation produces (or specializes in producing) the goods which it can produce best, or most efficiently, or most cheaply. Trade leads to interdependence among nations.

Part A. Citizenship Vocabulary. Match the key words with their definitions.

Definitions	**Key Words**
_____ 1. to rely on one another	A. trade
_____ 2. something used in making goods or providing services	B. resources
_____ 3. to give in exchange for another item	C. interdependent
_____ 4. to develop fully one or few activities	D. specialization

Part B. Short Answer. Find the correct answer to each of the following questions in the reading above.

1. Why do nations trade? ______________________________

2. Give an example of another item besides oil for which nations will trade? ______________________________

3. Give an example other than oil of interdependence between nations. ______________________________

Part C. Understanding. Mark T for *True* or F for *False* beside each statement.

_____ 1. Nations trade because of the basic economic problem of scarcity.

_____ 2. Most nations today can survive without trading.

_____ 3. Nations cooperate with each other through trade.

_____ 4. Nations have different trade needs.

_____ 5. The distribution of resources worldwide is unequal.

_____ 6. Trade among nations is aided when nations avoid specialization.

Part D. It's Your Turn/Check Yourself. Study the table. Write the letter of the correct response in the blank before each item.

AMERICAN DEPENDENCE ON TRADE:
IMPORTS AS A PERCENT OF CONSUMPTION, 1984

RAW MATERIAL	IMPORTS AS A PERCENT OF CONSUMPTION	PRIMARY FOREIGN SOURCES	USE OF RAW MATERIAL
Industrial Diamonds	100	South Africa	Industrial cutting tools Oil well drills
Columbium	100	Brazil, Canada, Thailand	Atomic energy reactors, hardened steel
Mica (sheet)	100	India, Belgium, France	Electrical insulation, ceramics
Strontium	100	Mexico, Spain	Flares, fireworks
Manganese	99	South Africa, Gabon, Australia	Stainless steel, dry cell batteries, dies
Cobalt	95	Zaire, Zambia, Canada	High temperature jet fighter engines
Tantalum	94	Thailand, Malaysia, Brazil	Surgical instruments, and missile parts
Chromium	82	South Africa, Zimbabwe, Soviet Union	Chrome, ball bearings, trim on appliances and cars
Asbestos	75	Canada, South Africa	Insulation, cement, fireproof clothing

Source: Clayton, Brown, Greenberg, ECONOMICS: PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES. Columbus, Ohio, Merrill Publishing Company. 1988. page 438.

_____ 1. Look at the line labeled "asbestos". Which of these statements is supported by the facts in the table?

A. The U.S. has 75% of the asbestos it needs, but needs 25% from other countries.

B. The U.S. has 25% of the asbestos it needs, but needs 75% from other countries.

C. Two countries produce three-fourths of the asbestos the world needs.

D. Canada and South Africa are the only two countries in the world that produce asbestos.

_____ 2. Which of the following statements best states the main idea of the table?

A. Because the U.S. is highly industrialized, we are very dependent on other countries for certain resources which we lack.

B. Countries in Africa are highly industrialized because they have large quantities of important resources.

C. The U.S. carries on very little trade with the countries in Europe.

HANDOUT 9

U.S. and Mexico are neighbors, like it or not

THE PLAIN DEALER, SUNDAY, AUGUST 25, 1991

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

For more than a century, Mexico and the United States have gazed uneasily across their common border, never quite prepared to accept that they are neighbors.

Mexico has made a point of asserting its independence from the country that seized half its territory in the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848. For its part, the United States has tended to ignore the impoverished land to its south, partly out of arrogance and partly because for six decades it has been able to count on Mexico's basic stability. As former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt once noted, "The great paradox of Mexico is that in our minds it might easily be 10,000 miles away."

In fact, it is only a footstep away. Like it or not, the two nations are entwined in a knot of interdependence. Not only do they share a 2,000-mile border, which stretches from San Diego on the Pacific to Brownsville, Texas, on the Gulf of Mexico, they straddle one of the few frontiers that separate an economically advanced country from a developing one. Mexico is the United States' third largest trading partner and a critical source of imported oil.

Five years ago, Mexico was a classic example of everything wrong in the developing world: Its centrally planned economy had collapsed, political leadership was wanting and government inefficiency and corruption were rampant.

Now, suddenly, Mexico has emerged as one of the world's most promising economies. Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Mexico's 43-year-old president, has embarked on a bold course toward modernization. By opening up Mexico's economy, he hopes to lure foreign investment and liberate his impoverished country from decades of underdevelopment.

Challenging a long tradition of state control and anti-Americanism, Salinas is transforming Mexico — and U.S.-Mexican relations — more profoundly than any of his predecessors in this century.

Not yet halfway through his six year term, Salinas has moved decisively to arrest corrupt union bosses drug traffickers and repressive government officials. He has deregulated large sectors of the economy lowered trade and investment barriers and sold off state corporations including such politically sensitiv ones as telephones, mines, stee mills and airlines.

Equally impressive, Salinas ha curbed bureaucratic growth, restructured the tax system and slashed th fiscal deficit to its lowest level in quarter century. In doing so, he ha won the applause of the World Bank President Bush and leaders of othe industrialized nations, who now hol Mexico up as a textbook example o modernization for the rest of the developing world to follow.

Salinas' boldest step — and biggest gamble — is his proposal for free-trade agreement with the Unite

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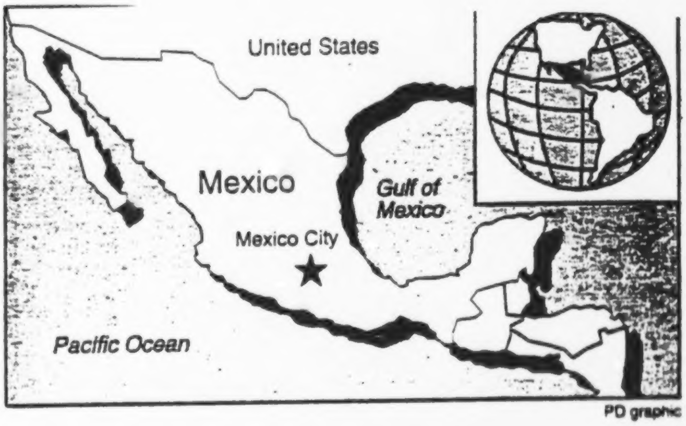

PD graphic

States. The trade pact negotiations, which have been expanded to include Canada, would write a new page of North American history that would push two uneasy and often distrustful neighbors into a permanent embrace.

Under the agreement, the U.S.-Mexico border ultimately would disappear for purposes of trade and industry. Tariffs would be lowered and eventually eliminated; restrictions against U.S. investment would be reduced; and the Mexican market would be "freed up" for U.S. agricultural products.

Most analysts say a free-trade agreement is much more crucial to Mexico's development and stability than it is to the United States. The U.S. economy is 25 times larger than the Mexican economy.

But the consequences of what happens in Mexico will inevitably be felt north of the border. Numerous studies conclude that a free-trade accord will result in more jobs in both countries. "More jobs will mean higher wages in Mexico, and this in turn will mean fewer migrants to the United States and Canada," Salinas told a group of U.S. newspaper editors in April. "We want to export goods, not people."

The real litmus test for Salinas' reforms will be Mexico's economic performance. And thus far the indicators are positive: This year, the economy is growing at an annualized rate of 3.9%, its third straight year of growth after nearly a decade of stagnation; inflation has been reduced from 160% in 1987 to 20%; and since 1989, $5.2 billion in new capital has flowed into Mexico.

Despite these extraordinary accomplishments, however, Mexico's domestic situation remains precarious. Economic hardship is as severe as ever; the political process is changing but is still far from democratic; corruption is endemic; and the drug traffic has corrupted many official institutions, including the police. Moreover, the standard of living of the average Mexican is 40% lower than it was in 1982 and there is some question as to how long Mexicans will be willing to endure.

Salinas faces a difficult choice: either further accelerate the pace of reform, which is already intense by Mexican standards, or risk losing the gains he has promised the Mexican people.

As a presidential candidate in 1988, Salinas vowed not only to open up the economy, but also to reform Mexico's political system. He pledged to end corruption, and to have free elections, ultimately leading to multiparty government. Now Mexico's popular president is under pressure to show results.

While Salinas has cracked down on corruption and permitted some political reforms, such as passage of a new "more equitable" election law, critics complain that the pace is too slow — and that Salinas' real intent is to preserve the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party's iron grip on Mexican politics. "He is as dictatorial as his predecessors," says Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, a professor of political science at Mexico City's National Autonomous University.

"Mexico has a long way to go in terms of modernizing itself socially and politically," agrees Nora Lustig, a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution, a think tank based in Washington, D.C.

In the long run, most analysts feel the pressures for political reform — and electoral democracy — will prevail. Whether through cable TV, Mexicana flights from New York to Cancun or midnight border crossings at San Ysidro and El Paso, constant contact with the United States is erasing cultural, geographical and political borders.

And if a free-trade agreement is reached, it will only accelerate the process. For along with investment dollars will come democratic norms. "If you go into a supermarket and have a choice of 40 different cereals, it is only natural to expect to have a choice between more than one (political) party," says John Bailey, a professor of government at Georgetown University.

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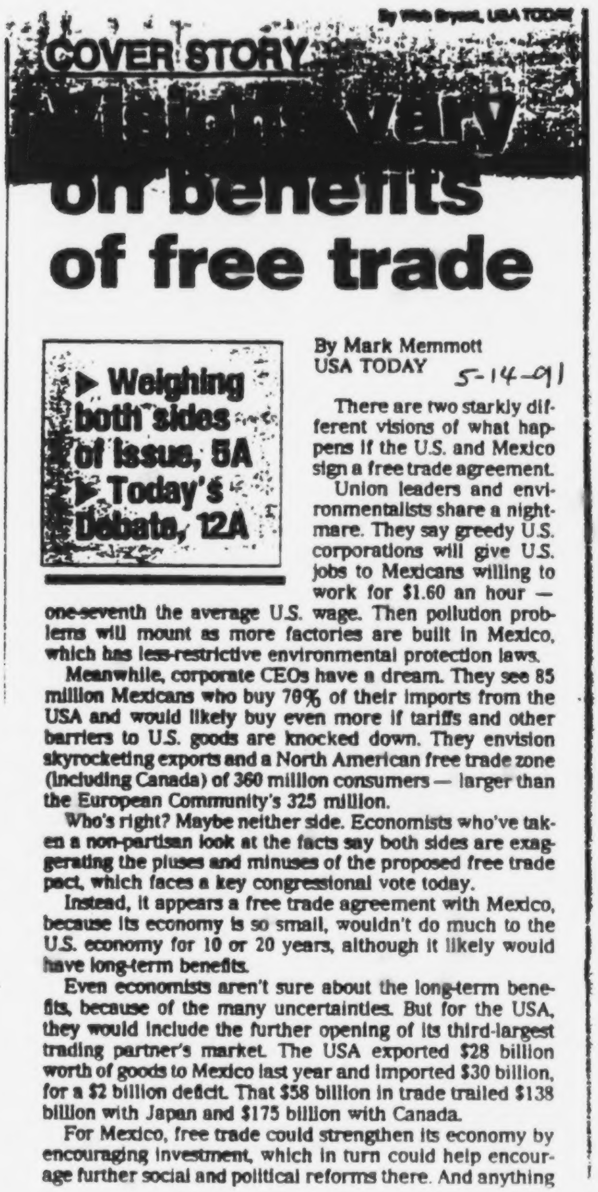
HANDOUT 10



By Web Bryant, USA TODAY

COVER STORY

Visions vary on benefits of free trade

▶ Weighing both sides of issue, 5A
▶ Today's Debate, 12A

By Mark Memmott
USA TODAY 5-14-91

There are two starkly different visions of what happens if the U.S. and Mexico sign a free trade agreement.

Union leaders and environmentalists share a nightmare. They say greedy U.S. corporations will give U.S. jobs to Mexicans willing to work for $1.60 an hour — one-seventh the average U.S. wage. Then pollution problems will mount as more factories are built in Mexico, which has less-restrictive environmental protection laws.

Meanwhile, corporate CEOs have a dream. They see 85 million Mexicans who buy 70% of their imports from the USA and would likely buy even more if tariffs and other barriers to U.S. goods are knocked down. They envision skyrocketing exports and a North American free trade zone (including Canada) of 360 million consumers — larger than the European Community's 325 million.

Who's right? Maybe neither side. Economists who've taken a non-partisan look at the facts say both sides are exaggerating the pluses and minuses of the proposed free trade pact, which faces a key congressional vote today.

Instead, it appears a free trade agreement with Mexico, because its economy is so small, wouldn't do much to the U.S. economy for 10 or 20 years, although it likely would have long-term benefits.

Even economists aren't sure about the long-term benefits, because of the many uncertainties. But for the USA, they would include the further opening of its third-largest trading partner's market. The USA exported $28 billion worth of goods to Mexico last year and imported $30 billion, for a $2 billion deficit. That $58 billion in trade trailed $138 billion with Japan and $175 billion with Canada.

For Mexico, free trade could strengthen its economy by encouraging investment, which in turn could help encourage further social and political reforms there. And anything

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HANDOUT
10

COVER STORY

Trading with Mexico

Continued from 1B

that helps stabilize Mexico should also help the USA if it discourages illegal immigration from there.

Those are long-term possibilities. Right now, debate over free trade — the knocking down of tariffs and other trade barriers so goods and services can flow virtually unrestricted between two nations — is dominating Washington.

Congress is arguing whether to extend President Bush's "fast-track" authority to negotiate a trade agreement that can't be amended by the House or Senate. Even with fast-track approval, a deal could take two years. A preliminary vote by the House Ways and Means Committee could come as early as today. If Congress wants to restrict the president's authority it must do so by June 1. A vote to curtail Bush's authority would likely kill the chances of an agreement, since Mexico wouldn't want to negotiate a pact that Congress could amend. Monday, it appeared Bush had the votes in Congress to get his way.

Despite the exaggerations, both sides in the debate make valid points. It's true some U.S. jobs would be eliminated in industries such as oil refining and food processing, which face lower-cost Mexican competitors. And a few more U.S. companies might move jobs to Mexico.

But those losses would likely be offset by job gains in other industries, especially among exporters. Commerce Department economists estimate every additional $1 billion in exports create 22,000 jobs, and an agreement would likely boost exports to Mexico by at least a few billion dollars annually right away. Those would be small gains in a labor force of 125 million, but good news for an economy that has lost more than 1 million jobs since the recession began last July. Also, an agreement would be good for U.S. corn and wheat farmers, who are more efficient than their Mexican competitors.

But economists who aren't lobbying on behalf of either side in the debate warn against expecting too much. The reason: Mexico's economy is too small to be a threat or a boost. The value of goods and services produced annually in Mexico totals only $225 billion — 1/25 the size of the USA's $5.5 trillion in annual output. Mexico, with a population 6.5 times larger, produces less per year than Florida's $270 billion.

"You would need an extraordinary expansion of the Mexican economy over the next 25 years for (a free trade) agreement to have either the negative or positive effects that many claim will happen," says Kerry Krutilla, a professor at Indiana University's School of Public and Environmental Affairs. Krutilla, economist Roy Boyd of Ohio University and economist Joseph McKinney of Baylor University, have just published a study that concludes an agreement would have minimal effects on the U.S. economy over its first five to 10 years.

Mexico's small economy isn't the only reason many economists say it would take years for a U.S.-Mexico free trade agreement to have a significant effect on the USA. Others:

▶ Much progress toward free trade has been made. Mexico, to stimulate its economy, has been opening its borders since 1985. It has cut tariffs on imports from an average 25% of the value of goods, to an average 10% (the average U.S. tariff on Mexican goods is 4%). Mexico has also slashed the number of products that need import licenses to 230 from 12,000.

U.S.-Mexico trade has benefitted, meaning many gains are behind. Exports from the USA to Mexico soared 129% in the

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years 1986 through 1990. Imports from Mexico grew 75%. And the USA wiped out its non-oil trade deficit with Mexico, which totaled $1.5 billion in 1986. Last year, the USA had a non-oil trade surplus of $2.7 billion. Non-oil trade figures give a truer picture of the competitive position because the USA imports substantial amounts of oil from a few countries, including Mexico, but exports virtually no oil.

▶ Most of the jobs U.S. corporations would like to move to Mexico are already there. Non-Mexican businesses, most from the USA, employ more than 350,000 workers in *maquiladora* plants along the U.S.-Mexico border. Not all the jobs were shifted from the USA. Many of the factories would have been built in Asia if it weren't for Mexico's low wage costs. But it's unlikely U.S. corporations could shift many more jobs to Mexico, economists say. The main reason: Mexico doesn't have the roads, bridges, sewers and other support systems.

▶ Finally, nothing much will happen right away because just as with the U.S.-Canada free trade agreement that took effect two years ago, a U.S.-Mexico agreement would be phased in over 10 years. The phase-in could take even longer if Canada succeeds in its effort to join a U.S.-Mexico agreement.

If the U.S.-Canada experience is any role model, economic changes will be slow. "Have we seen significant impacts in the first two years?" of the U.S.-Canada agreement, asks James McConnell, director of the State University of New York at Buffalo's Canada-U.S. Trade Center. "The short answer is no."

That pact has stimulated investment across the U.S.-Canada border, he says, but recessions in both countries have muted the effect.

Will all the bickering about free trade kill the president's efforts to work out a deal with Mexico? Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher says the chances of the president getting his way "are better than 50-50."

But he's still worried, Mosbacher says, about what could happen if there is no U.S.-Mexico pact. "A lot of other nations would be delighted to get in there if we don't," he says. "As we say down in Texas, they would delighted to see us bust a pick."

HANDOUT 11

RALPH NADER

An opposing view

Put the brakes on free-trade stampede

WASHINGTON — Wouldn't you like two-way free trade between nations without, in the same agreements, exposing our relatively stronger worker, consumer and environmental protections to pressures by foreign countries and their corporate allies to weaken or repeal these health, safety and economic safeguards?

Well, President Bush and his corporate allies are demanding that Congress accept the entire trade agreements that are coming between the USA and 100 nations, and the USA and Mexico, without any amendments to separate the good from the bad. Bush's strategy is to get Congress to tie its own hands through a "fast track" procedure that requires a vote for the entire treaties, either "yes" or "no" within 60 days with no amendments permitted. "Fast track" is a false track downward for three reasons:

USA TODAY

Ralph Nader is an author and lecturer.

▶ Fast-track is never used for other complex legislation — arms control, other trade treaties, lengthy tax and appropriations bills — because it is so anti-democratic. It gives excessive power to the White House and prevents members of Congress from using their judgment on individual provisions. By speeding debate and sharply limiting Congress' power, fast-track also locks out citizens who want to debate and discuss these issues through their representatives.

▶ Fast-track is bad for consumers. Provisions in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade treaty would allow companies and countries with lower standards to challenge any stronger U.S. meat inspection, pesticide, auto safety and prescription drug standards (to name a few) as "non-tariff trade barriers" and demand their repeal or reduction. The U.S.-Canada free trade agreement, fast-tracked in 1988, contained a little-noticed provision that weakened U.S. border inspections of beef from Canada, leading to the import of contaminated meat, according to federal inspectors.

▶ Fast track is bad for the environment and workers' health and safety. The GATT treaty allows superior U.S. laws in these areas to be challenged by foreign countries as "technical barriers to trade." Special, secretive GATT panels could order the USA to lower its standards or be subject to fines and sanctions. Canada is now challenging the U.S. ban on deadly asbestos as a treaty violation keeping out Canadian asbestos. Under the treaty, a U.S. court could order repeal of this life-saving asbestos regulation.

The GATT and Mexican treaties will be thousands of pages long, replete with such trip wires. They need to be debated by Congress as the founders envisioned, fully and with the authority to amend. Backers of these treaties are ignoring the unjustified erosions of our national, state and local sovereignty or, in the global corporations' case, are pursuing a clever strategy to get a massive deregulatory wolf through Congress in free-trade clothing.

The first fast-track vote will be May 22 in the House. You need to call (202-224-3121) or write your representative to urge a vote with the head instead of with clicking heels.

DEBATE

Move ahead with Mexico trade talks

West Coast and Southern electronics firms look south of the border and see a gold mine of opportunity in a nation sorely lacking advanced technology.

Midwestern farmers see a consumer cornucopia — 88 million and growing — to buy their harvests.

Northeastern insurance and financial companies peer past the horizon to a potential investment bonanza.

No wonder. Since 1985, when Mexico began cutting its tariffs in half and doubling its imports of U.S. goods, freer trade has created 280,000 jobs here.

So free trade with Mexico ought to look like a good deal to most businesses and workers, especially after 10 years, when such a pact would be fully in place.

Today, though, two congressional committees may decide whether a deal for freer trade can be made.

Critics of new trade agreements — with Mexico and the rest of the world — want Congress to be given more say on such pacts. As you can read elsewhere on this page, they oppose so-called "fast-track" negotiations, in which a president negotiates a trade agreement and then Congress can vote it up or down, but not change it.

Congress must be allowed to amend the treaties, they argue, to protect U.S. workers and our environment.

But no one is protected if Congress votes to push trade talks off the fast track. That will only derail them as other nations refuse to deal with a nation of too many voices. And derailed talks could wreck every nation's economy.

Biggest buyers

U.S. exports increased 11% in 1990, to $389 billion from $360 billion in 1989, with five countries buying half of all exports:

	1990	Increase
Canada:	$83.5	5%
Japan:	47.9	10%
Mexico:	28.3	15%
Britain:	22.9	12%
Germany:	18.3	12%

Source: U.S. Commerce Dept.

U.S. export industries are the nation's fastest growing, adding nearly 600,000 new jobs last year. But U.S. exporters need access to other-markets. And that is threatened by Europe forming a free-trading block in 1992, while Japan and Asian nations negotiate a free-trade zone of their own.

Adding Mexico to a North American free-trade zone, including Canada, would match the clout of other groups with a market of 360 million people and a $6 trillion economy. That can help pry open European and Pacific markets.

A trade agreement with Mexico can resolve domestic dilemmas as well.

Bush's promise to name environmentalists to advisory committees means a trade pact could cut the pollution that chokes air and water along our 2,000-mile common border.

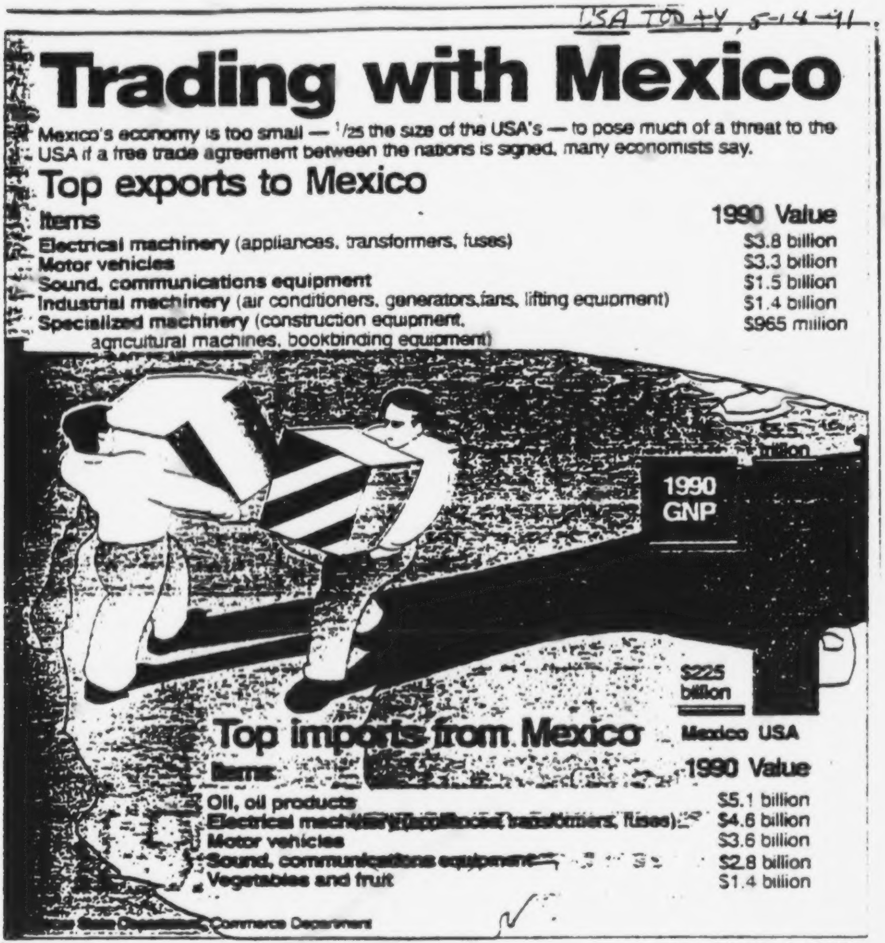
And Bush's plan to retrain workers affected by trade would add skills business needs, not prop up unneeded jobs.

Freer trade also should improve Mexico's economy so the flood of 1 million illegal aliens who annually search for jobs here might find opportunities in their own homeland.

Free trade can be a good deal for everyone. Congress shouldn't kill it before talks begin.

HANDOUT 12

USA TODAY, 5-14-91



Trading with Mexico

Mexico's economy is too small — 1/25 the size of the USA's — to pose much of a threat to the USA if a free trade agreement between the nations is signed, many economists say.

Top exports to Mexico

Items	1990 Value
Electrical machinery (appliances, transformers, fuses)	$3.8 billion
Motor vehicles	$3.3 billion
Sound, communications equipment	$1.5 billion
Industrial machinery (air conditioners, generators, fans, lifting equipment)	$1.4 billion
Specialized machinery (construction equipment, agricultural machines, bookbinding equipment)	$965 million

Top imports from Mexico

Items	1990 Value
Oil, oil products	$5.1 billion
Electrical machinery (appliances, transformers, fuses)	$4.6 billion
Motor vehicles	$3.6 billion
Sound, communications equipment	$2.8 billion
Vegetables and fruit	$1.4 billion

Source: State Department, Commerce Department

By Web Bryant, USA TODAY

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Rural Areas Have Yet To Feel Effect Of Economic Reforms

By BERND DEBUSMANN
Reuters
the News, 7/13/91

MIACATLAN, Mor. — 'The world is changing. Mexico, when?"

Scrawled in black spray paint on a wall in rural Morelos, the question provides a stark reminder that economic and political reforms pushed by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari have yet to touch the lives of many Mexicans.

"I hear this talk of change," said farmhand Francisco Guerrero. "But my life stays the same. For the poor, it is hard. We always hope things will get better but they never do."

Like thousands of rural towns and villages, Miacatlan remains very poor. Here, very few will ever own a car and a horse denotes prosperity.

Salinas' economic changes during the last two-and-a-half years have won enthusiastic applause from the United States and free-market advocates the world over.

Hundreds of inefficient state-owned companies have been sold, inflation has been slashed, the budget deficit reduced. Foreign confidence in Mexico led to an agreement that reduced the foreign debt from around 100 billion dollars to 80 billion dollars.

And the Salinas administration's negotiation of a Free-Trade Agreement with the United States represents a reversal of long-standing policy and raises hopes for a better tomorrow.

But for poorer Mexicans, it may be years before such hopes are fulfilled.

Nationwide, around a million people enter the job market every year to chase between 300,000 and 400,000 jobs.

According to a study this month by Banobras, the state-owned public works bank, almost half of the country's 82 million people live in poverty and 17 million in extreme poverty.

A fifth of the population cannot afford the "indispensable minimum" in food, housing and education and has no access to clean drinking water or electricity, it said.

By other estimates, half of working-age Mexicans earn less than 6 dollars a day, less than the price of a meal in a modest restaurant.

Living on the edge prevents millions from getting even the rudimentary education that provides the first step away from poverty.

Last autumn, Salinas said half of all children drop out of the public school system before finishing elementary school, largely due to families dependence on child labor.

If negotiations for a Free-Trade Agreement go without a hitch, the accord could take effect in 1993. But some studies say the overall impact on living standards will be minimal.

According to a study by KPMG Peat Marwick, a U.S. group of financial analysts, the complete removal of existing tariffs in U.S.-Mexican trade would increase "aggregate welfare," a scientific term for real income, in Mexico by 0.32 percent.

A study by two researchers from the University of California at Berkeley also concluded that a free-trade agreement would have only a tiny effect on real income in Mexico.

If the past is a guide, the added benefits will float to the top, perpetuating a huge gap between rich and poor.

"The rich could well grow richer and the poor, poorer," said Antonio Alonso Concheiro, head of the Centro de Estudios Prospectivos, a think tank devoted to the study of the future.

"Few countries have a distribution of wealth as unequal as Mexico," he said.

The poorest fifth of the population, according to World Bank figures, account for only about four percent of total personal income. The purchasing power of the minimum wage dropped by 60 percent in the past decade.

While life is grim in the sprawling slums of major cities, it is harder still in the countryside.

"Thirty percent of our population is rural but they account for only 8 percent of our Gross Domestic Product," said Adalberto Garcia, head of the economic studies center at the Colegio de Mexico.

At the top end of the scale, a small group of businessmen control enormous fortunes: according to a recent survey published by the left-leaning newspaper *La Jornada*, 70 companies account for 22 percent of Mexican GDP.

These corporations are controlled, directly or indirectly, by 37 men, the survey said.

Like Garcia, most independent economists agree that the Salinas government has put the country on the right track by opening its economy and pulling off the protectionist blanket which helped some Mexicans amass great fortunes.

HANDOUT 13

PROYECTOS
1990

1990 PROJECTS

HORTALIZAS
Productos que ofrecen retorno en dólares a corto plazo

Además de contribuir a diversificar la producción agrícola, mejorar la dieta alimenticia de la población y fortalecer el comercio exterior, las hortalizas tienen un gran potencial para contribuir al desarrollo económico interno de Honduras, con su subsecuente beneficio social.

La producción de hortalizas requiere de usos intensivos de capital y de mano de obra, caracterizándose su rendimiento por ser económicamente alto en un plazo sumamente corto. De ahí que la Fundación Hondureña de Investigación Agrícola considere a éste uno de los rubros de mayor promesa dentro de su importante actividad de investigación y producción agrícola.

El Proyecto de Exportación de Hortalizas de Comayagua fue creado para proveer soporte técnico y para: 1) desarrollar sistemas rentables de producción y mercadeo; 2) promover la diversificación del cultivo de hortalizas para la exportación; y 3) transferir tecnología mejorada a productores de hortalizas.

VEGETABLES
A dollar return in the short-term

In Honduras vegetables not only serve to diversify agricultural production, improve the diet of the people, and increase foreign trade, but also they have a great potential for contributing to the over-all economic development which would result in many benefits for society.

Vegetable production requires intensive investments in labor and capital. Yields are characterized by high costs over short periods. FHIA therefore considers this to be one of the areas with greatest potential that fall within the scope of its short term research commitments.

FHIA's Vegetable Export Project in Comayagua was established to provide technical support and 1) develop profit-making production and marketing systems; 2) promote the diversification of vegetable crops for export; and 3) transfer improved technology to vegetable producers.

TOMATES FRESCOS

Un cultivo adaptado al valle de Comayagua

Un sistema de producción para tomates frescos de exportación fue desarrollado y probado exitosamente para la FHIA-FPX en el Valle de Comayagua en 1987-1988. La tecnología de invernadero fue modificada y adaptada a condiciones de campo en una plantación modelo de 14 acres.

Los resultados sobrepasaron las expectativas. Se obtuvieron producciones altas (125-165 mt/ha o 5,300-6,700 cajas/ha) de tomates de primera calidad. La combinación de alta tecnología y excelentes condiciones ecológicas resultó exitosa. Utilizar mano de obra local no entrenada fue un reto, pero al final la fruta fue cosechada, clasificada y empacada adecuadamente.

Las experiencias de mercadeo señalaban algunos contratiempos mayores, pero la posibilidad de que Honduras exportara tomates al mercado invernal de los Estados Unidos se mantuvo viable. Todavía hay algunas limitaciones por resolver. La palabra clave es volumen. Se necesitan mayores volúmenes para mejorar los costos de transporte, eficiencia de empaque y nuestra capacidad para obtener precios razonables en mercados muy competitivos.

Tomates frescos para exportación.

Fresh market tomatoes for export.

FRESH MARKET TOMATOES

A crop well adapted to the Comayagua valley

A production system for fresh market tomatoes for export was developed and tried successfully by FHIA-FEPROEXAAH in the Comayagua Valley in 19987-1988. Greenhouse technology was modified and adapted to field conditions in a 14-acre Model farm.

The results exceeded expectations. High yields (125-165 mt/ha or 5,300-6,700 boxes/ha) of top quality tomatoes were obtained. The combination of high technology and excellent conditions proved successful. Using local untrained labor was a challenge, but at the end fruit was harvested, graded and packed adequately.

Marketing experiences pinpointed some major constraints, but the possibility for Honduras to export tomatoes to the USA winter market remained viable. Some limitations have still to be worked out. The key word is volume. Larger volumes are needed in order to improve transport costs, packing efficiency and our capacity to obtain fair prices in very competitive markets.

FHIA is now exploring other alternatives that could be offered to potential investors, such as the development of a lower investment produc-

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La FHIA está explorando otras alternativas que podrían ser ofrecidas a inversionistas potenciales, como por ejemplo el desarrollo de sistemas de producción de menor inversión y la reducción en el costo de producción por unidad. Se están evaluando nuevas variedades para la producción de mayores cosechas, fruta más firme y resistencia a enfermedades e insectos. Se están utilizando sistemas de monitoreo como alternativa a aplicaciones de plaguicidas con calendario fijo. Las prácticas culturales y agrónomas se han optimizado para sistemas de producción con riego por zurco.

El futuro para tomates frescos parece promisorio. La combinación de una operación de exportación con la industria de procesamiento de tomate sería muy conveniente, por lo menos hasta que se alcance un cierto nivel de eficiencia y volumen. Los tomates frescos podrían procesarse de una manera rentable cuando se reduzcan los precios de mercado.

tion system, and a reduction in the per unit production cost. New varieties are being evaluated for the production of higher yields, firmer fruit, and disease and insect resistance. Insect monitoring systems are being used as an alternative to fixed schedule pesticide applications. Cultural and agronomic practices are optimized for furrow irrigated production systems.

The future for fresh market tomatoes seems promising. The combination of an export operation with the tomato processing industry would be convenient, at least until a certain level of efficiency and volume is reached. Fresh market tomatoes could be profitably processed when market prices are depressed.

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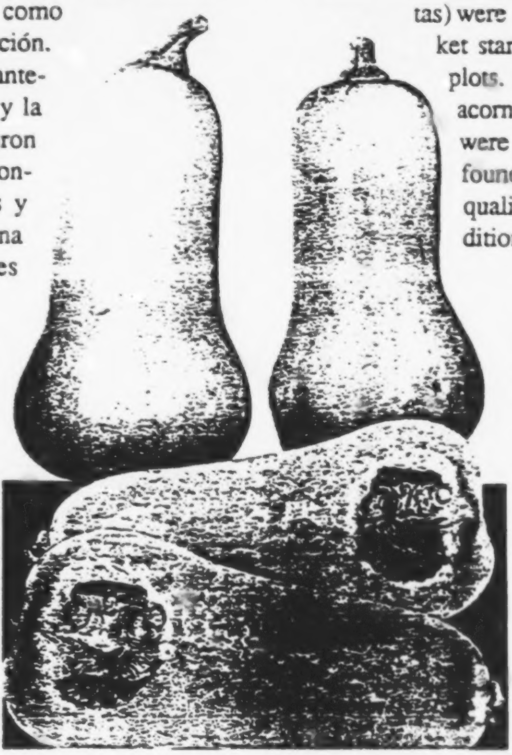
CALABACITA
Una nueva hortaliza que se exporta con éxito

Hace cuatro años, las calabacitas eran curiosidades tanto en el mercado como en el terreno de la investigación. Zucchini, calabacita de mantequilla, calabacita de nuez y la calabacita de espaguetis fueron puestos bajo ensayo, encontrándose muy productivas y presentando a la vez buena calidad bajo las condiciones de Comayagua.

Visitantes a los ensayos de Comayagua, tanto patrocinadores locales como extranjeros, vieron el potencial para las calabacitas y pronto comenzó a desarrollarse una pequeña producción. Ahora el cultivo está creciendo, no sólo en Comayagua sino en Cantarranas, Naco, Chotepe y La Entrada, encontrando suficiente demanda para incorporar 350 hectáreas dentro de la producción de 1990.

La historia de las calabacitas indican la necesidad de introducir continuamente muchas alternativas para diversificación. De este modo, los proyectos de hortalizas en Comayagua (CEDEH), esperan continuar desarrollando nuevos cultivos de exportación para su eventual producción en el futuro.

Este año las calabacitas exportadas han atraído la atención de los compradores en los Estados Unidos y ha estimulado a los productores a cerrar rápidamente tratos para producirlas en Honduras.



WINTER SQUASH
A new vegetable successfully exported

About four years ago, winter squash (calabacitas) were curiosities in both the market stands as well as the research plots. Zucchini, butter squash, acorn squash and spaghetti squash were put under trials and were found to be productive with high quality under Comayagua conditions.

Visitors to the Comayagua trials, both the local and foreign procurers, saw the potential for the squashes and a small export production began to develop. The crop is now grown not only in Comayagua but also in Cantarranas, Naco, Chotepe and La Entrada, and has found enough demand to spur 350 hectares into production by 1990.

The story of baby squashes indicate the need to continually introduce many alternatives for diversification. Thus, the vegetable projects in Comayagua and in CEDEH hope to continue to develop new export crops for eventual production in the future.

The baby squashes exported this year have attracted buyers' attention in the United States and encouraged producers to close deals early on to produce them in Honduras.

As another member of the cucurbitacea family, squashes are expected to be prone to problems of

SOYA

CRECIENTE DEMANDA INTERNA POR SATISFACER

Las posibilidades hondureñas para la expansión de la soya se perfilan altamente prometedoras. Hay mucho interés y motivación del Gobierno y de la empresa privada.

Durante 1989 el Proyecto de Soya desarrolló dos grandes grupos de actividades: continuación del mejoramiento genético iniciado en 1986, y prestación de servicios de asesoría al Programa Regional de Soya del Banco Centroamericano de Integración Económica (BCIE).

El mejoramiento genético, que tiene por finalidad apoyar la expansión del cultivo de soya con variedades más productivas, continuó el manejo y selección de unos 643 materiales básicos. Un total de 32 introducciones y variedades selectas, y dos grupos de 25 y 49 líneas locales prosiguieron evaluación en tres series de ensayos, dos de ellos repetidos en las estaciones experimentales de Guarumas, Catacamas, Comayagua y Choluteca.

El Programa Regional de Soya del BCIE pre-

Cosecha de la producción de Soya en los campos experimentales de FHIA.

Soybean harvest at the experimental centers of FHIA.

SOYBEANS

GROWING INTERNAL DEMAND TO SATISFY

The potential for increased soybean production in Honduras is very promising. Much interest has been shown by both the government and the private sector.

During 1989 the Soybean Project developed two groups of activities: continuation of genetic improvement initiated in 1986, and consulting services to the Regional Program of Soybean of the Central American Bank of Economic Integration (BCIE).

Genetic improvement, which has the purpose of backing the expansion of soybean cultivation with more productive varieties, continued with the handling and selection of some 643 basic lines. A total of 32 introductions and select varieties, and two groups of 25 and 49 local lines were evaluated in 3 series of tests, 2 of them repeated in the experimental stations of Guarumas, Catacamas, Comayagua and Choluteca.

The Regional Program for Soybean from the

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tende información técnica y económica que permita evaluar las características del cultivo, establecer los mejores sistemas de producción disponibles y determinar su rentabilidad. El gran propósito es apoyar los programas y proyectos de fomento del cultivo de la soya en Centroamérica, orientados a solucionar el problema del déficit en el abastecimiento de semillas oleaginosas para la industria regional de los aceites y derivados proteicos.

El Programa, a ser desarrollado en 16 zonas potencialmente aptas para el cultivo, será apoyado por los sectores privado y gubernamental. Los ministerios de Agricultura proporcionan facilidades y lo ejecutan. Mediante contrato con el BCIE, la FHIA asesora y ejerce la Dirección Técnica a escala regional. El Programa, iniciado en abril de 1988, incluye tres proyectos: Fincas, Ensayos Regionales y Básicos.

EMPIEZA LA EXPANSION DE LA SOYA EN CENTROAMERICA

Debido al encarecimiento de las importaciones de soya y sus derivados con destino a la producción de carnes, huevos y otros alimentos básicos, los países centroamericanos empiezan a producir este grano en cantidades aún pequeñas pero a una tasa de expansión acelerada (cuadro 1). El aumento en las áreas es el resultado del esfuerzo gubernamental y privado y el papel de la FHIA en apoyar con tecnologías el éxito de dichos esfuerzos.

BCIE wishes to obtain technical and economic information for the evaluation of the crop, establish the best systems of available production and determine its profitability. The main purpose is to back the program and projects for promotion of soybean cultivation in Central America, aimed at solving the deficit problem in the supply of oilseeds for the regional industry of oils and derived proteins.

The program, to be developed in 16 potentially suitable zones, will be sponsored by the government and private sectors. The Ministry of Agriculture provides facilities and execution. By means of a contract with BCIE, FHIA advises and assists technical direction at a regional scale. The program, initiated in April 1988, includes three projects: Farm trials, Regional Tests and Basic Seed Production.

SOYBEAN EXPANSION BEGINS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Because of large quantities of soybeans imported, Central American countries are starting to produce soybeans, presently in low quantities, but at an accelerated expansion rate (Table 1). The increase in the areas planted is the result of Government and private efforts. FHIA's role is to support such efforts through technology development and transfer.

Cuadro 1. Expansión de la Soya en Centroamérica. Período 1987-89.

Año	Guatemala	Nicaragua	Honduras	El Salvador	TOTAL	
		(Hectáreas)			(Has)	(%)
1987	12,700	2,800	200	200	15,900	100
1988	17,600	4,200	200	200	22,200	140
1989	21,100	5,600	2,100	1,400	30,200	190

Aparte del mercado insatisfecho y los buenos precios del grano, el éxito de la soya se debe a sus rendimientos por encima de las 2..2 tm/ha (33 qq/ Mz) y a las excelentes ganancias netas en el orden de los 300 dólares/ha (420 Lps/Mz) que hacen de la producción de la soya una empresa rentable y del todo factible en la región (cuadro 2).

Besides the good prices paid for grain, soybean growing is successful because of reasonable yields of over 2.2 tm/hectare (3,,300 lbs/mz) and its excellent net gains of US$ 300/hectare (Lps.. 420/ mz). These statistics show that soybean production is a profitable business and feasible in the region (Table 2).

Cuadro 2. Gastos y beneficios de la producción de soya. 1988

País	Producción	Gasto	Ingreso Bruto	Ingreso Neto	Rentabilidad
	(tm/ha)		(US$/ha)		(%)
Guatemala	2.58	436	810	374	86
El Salvador	2.27	590	802	211	36
Honduras	2.17	523	911	388	74
Nicaragua	1.68	292	425	292	46
Promedio	2.16	460	759	300	65

La información anterior dirigida a los interesados en producir soya, viene siendo obtenida gracias a un nexo feliz entre la FHIA y el Programa Regional de Soya del Banco Centroamericano de Integración Económica (BCIE) encaminado a sustentar las bases técnicas y económicas para el fomento de la soya en gran escala y cuya ejecución ha sido confiada al Proyecto de Soya de la FHIA.

NUEVAS VARIEDADES DE SOYA DE LA FHIA.

En 1986, el Proyecto de Soya de la FHIA retoma las experiencias de SIATSA, la otrora División de Investigaciones Tropicales de United Brands. A partir de entonces, las tecnologías para mejorar la productividad de la soya están siendo ampliadas, renovadas y puestas al servicio de los agricultores. Una de éstas, la fecha "temprana" de siembra, ha hecho posible elevar los rendimientos de 1.6 a 2.3 y 2.6 tm/ha (25 a 35 y 40 qq/Mz).

Present information on soybeans has been obtained through cooperation between FHIA and the Soybean Regional Program of the Banco Centroamericano de Integración Económica (BCIE), which assists the technological and economical bases for the promotion of the soybean production.

NEW SOYBEAN VARIETIES FROM FHIA

In 1986, FHIA's Soybean Project took over SIATSA which was the Tropical Research Department of the United Brands Co. Since then, technologies to improve soybean productivity have being expanded, renovated and put in the hand of the farmers. One of these, the "earliest" date of harvest, has made it possible to increase yields of 1.6 mt/ha to 2.3 and 2.6 (25 to 35 and 40 qq/Mz). These new varieties, better adapted and more productive, are assisting the expansion of soy-

En esa escala de avances, nuevas variedades mejor adaptadas y más rendidoras están prestas a apoyar la expansión de la soya en sus más altos niveles de productividad (cuadro 3).

Cuadro 3. Comportamiento de variedades para alta productividad.

Variedad	Altura planta	Altura vaina	Días a cosecha	Rendimiento	
	(cm)	(cm)		(tm/ha)	(%)
Go 83 27 173	64	16	119	2.70	138
Go 83 21 609	64	16	116	2.44	125
Tropical	68	17	113	2.27	116
Cristalina	41	11	111	2.24	115
SIATSA 194 (testigo)	62	16	109	1.95	100

Como una contribución a solventar los problemas que limitan la expansión de la soya, en el corto plazo la FHIA estará liberando nuevas variedades (cuadro 4). Pero al mismo tiempo invita a los inversionistas a sumarse en esos esfuerzos poniendo a disposición de los productores los servicios de mecanización y cosecha, las semillas, inoculantes y agroquímicos necesarios para superar esos escollos.

Cuadro 4. Características de las líneas prontas a ser liberadas.

Variedad	Altura planta	Altura vaina	Días a cosecha	Rendimiento	
	(cm)	(cm)		(tm/ha)	(%)
FHIA 15	74	16	113	2.76	139
FHIA 11	62	19	115	2.41	122
SIATSA 194 (testigo)	67	18	106	1.98	100

Finalmente, debido a que los países del área ya disponen de las facilidades para el procesamiento industrial de este grano, parece oportuno integrar alrededor de la soya un sistema exitoso de agroempresas del cual la FHIA desea formar parte.

bean to the highest levels of productivity ever obtained in Honduras.

FHIA is assisting to solve problems that limit soybean expansion; FHIA will soon be releasing new varieties (Table 4). In addition, to add up farmers need mechanization and harvest services, seeds, inoculents and agrochemicals.

Finally, because the Central American countries already have the facilites for industrial processing of soybeans, FHIA is planning to be a part of an economically feasible system of agroindustries involving soybeans.

Guatemala: The Same Horror Story

Mexico's Problem, Too

By DAVID SHIELDS
The News Columnist

If Mexican eyes were to look the other way for a moment, they would find the same old horror story across their southern border: murder, terrorism, torture and other human rights abuses on a vast scale in Guatemala. Last winter, a new government, headed by president Jorge Elias Serrano came to power promising to clean up his country. So far, his record is not promising.

The figures are terrifying. In just two typical months — January and February of this year — there were 166 extrajudicial executions (that is, assassinations), 61 people wounded in attempts on their lives and 31 kidnappings or "disappearances." (These figures are from the local press — *El Grafico* and *Prensa Libre* — and are confirmed by the Guatemalan Human Rights Commission.) On a longer time scale, the World Priorities Institute informs of 138 thousand killings, including 38 thousand for political motives, since 1966. A chilling figure, indeed, for a country of only 9 million inhabitants.

Gross accounts of corruption, frivolity and murder are charged against the government of ex-president Vinicio Cerezo. Singer Julio Iglesias claims Cerezo outbid him in the purchase of a Greek island — quite a prize for the leader of one of Latin America's most destitute countries. Cerezo's defense minister, Hector Gramajo, is considered by human rights activists to be liable for up to 10 thousand deaths. Amnesty International holds him responsible for 2,185 deaths in just his first two months in office.

And what about the new government? Serrano is committed to an internal peace process and reform of the State's economic role. Yet, the State's basic role in Guatemala — military control of the population — remains untouched and lack of public security and repression of rural and Indian groups are still ubiquitous.

Peace talks held recently between government and guerrilla groups in Cuernavaca, Mexico, showed little or no progress and human rights were not even discussed. Meanwhile, Ramiro de Leon Carpio, Guatemalan human rights attorney, whose unenviable job it is to investigate all known violations, has accused Serrano of indifference and making false promises on the subject. Serrano's word is a "dead letter," he says.

The situation affects Mexico directly. In the last decade, perhaps as many as 100,000 Guatemalans fled to Mexico's southern states (Chiapas, Quintana Roo and Campeche). Most of them remain and some 45,000 are to be found in refugee camps under the supervision of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and a Mexican commission (Comar).

The Refugees Will Stay

A declared priority of the Serrano government is to get these people to go back. However, Ricardo Kurtz Mendez, leader of the refugee groups in Chiapas said recently that "Guatemalan governments have made us lots of promises of repatriation in the last few years, but none has been sincere, and while human rights violations continue, we won't be going back."

In an editorial at the beginning of this month, *El Grafico* described as "sterile" the Serrano government's efforts in this matter, adding that there will be no progress "as long as conditions of peace and security are not created for the lives of *campesinos* and their families, and as long as there is no respect for the agreements already signed to ease their reintegration into their old communities, assuring them land to till and a place to live." The Serrano government has even rejected direct negotiations with the refugees, as they have demanded (quite reasonably) that the UNHCR be present as intermediary.

Mexican and U.S. governments have been remarkably silent about the Guatemalan atrocities over the years. The United States still sends official aid, as if the old Reaganite pretext of left-wing guerrilla activities could still be considered valid. Now, Edward Kennedy, Alan Cranston and other senators seem ready to take a stand, threatening a move to cut off aid if Serrano does not bring human rights violators to justice.

Mexican foreign policy seems to see Guatemala as just another part of the new, happy, democratic family in Latin America. A much cooler, sterner approach to the government and its military backers would be more appropriate, conditioning support and trade benefits to major improvements on human rights. Too many people have been keeping their mouths shut on Guatemalan terror for far too long.

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THE PLAIN DEALER, SUNDAY, APRIL 21, 1991

Nicaraguan exiles return, find economy shattered

COX NEWS SERVICE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — In the middle of this destitute city of wind-blown vacant lots and crumbling, empty buildings is a scene that resembles the vitality and pizzazz of a glittery U.S. nightclub.

On a Saturday night, Lobo Jack is full of well-attired recent additions to Nicaragua's population of wretchedly poor people. These wealthy Nicaraguans have been returning to their devastated homeland from Miami, where many lived in exile during the U.S.-backed contra war.

They have transformed the nightclub. During the decade-long conflict it was used by guerrilla-chic army officers and politicos in the leftist Sandinista government, which was voted out of power in February, 1990.

The returning Nicaraguans favor loafers and polo shirts over military camouflage, and they are not talking about revolution. Nor, for that matter, are many of the one-time Sandinista loyalists.

"The Sandinista ideology is gone," said Moises Hassan, a long-time Sandinista leader, who resigned his position in 1988. "There are very few people who have held on to their ideology."

A year after Sandinista President Daniel Ortega was voted out of power in favor of Violeta Chamorro, Nicaragua is a different place. Once-powerful Sandinista leaders have faded away. Many have been transformed from dedicated Marxists into Western-style liberals and are now working for the new government.

The revolutionary rhetoric that dominated television and radio is gone. In its place, dozens of publications and stations promote widely divergent viewpoints.

Young men and women no longer are dying by the thousands in Nicaragua's rain-soaked northern mountains. For the most part, former foes are now working together.

But the country still staggers under the weight of an economic crisis that cannot be solved by any amount of political good will. Despite hundreds of millions of dollars in U.S. postwar aid, most Nicaraguans are struggling to come up with enough money to feed their families.

In Chamorro's first year in office, the inflation rate averaged 13.500% and the gross national product dropped 5.7%. On a visit to Washington last week, she won a pledge from President Bush to lead an international effort to provide grants and loans to cover Nicaragua's $365

Although Chamorro has taken steps to reduce government spending and has devalued the local currency to cut hyperinflation, U.S. officials say privately that she must be more forceful in pressing economic reforms.

"We've done basically nothing in the economic realm," said Nicaraguan vice president Virgilio Godoy. "We haven't managed to create investor confidence. But we've accomplished a lot politically."

Social turmoil has largely subsided. A violent national strike last July grew out of frustrations with Chamorro's tough new economic policies. And in the months after she took office, there were occasional armed battles by farmers trying to reclaim land that had been confiscated by the Sandinistas.

Current troubles seem mild in comparison. Sandinista supporters periodically take over the government television station, sometimes pirating air time for anti-government messages. But each passing day moves the struggling nation further away from the vicious civil war, which claimed more than 20,000 lives.

Former enemies have created strange new alliances, as if they never had had bitter ideological differences.

Gen. Humberto Ortega, a Sandinista commander, in the past vowed to "annihilate" the contras — who included Chamorro's son among their leaders. He is now among the president's closest allies. In fact, Chamorro allowed him to remain as army commander.

The judicial system still is filled with judges appointed under Sandinista rule, and most lower-level employees in the Sandinista bureaucracy were permitted to retain their jobs when Chamorro took power.

A high-level Western diplomat said the new government "didn't have a lot of choice" in offering concessions to still-powerful Sandinistas like Gen. Ortega. "It's the Sandinistas who have the guns," the diplomat said.

The Nicaraguans arriving from Miami have brought with them money, which gives them an aura of immense wealth when compared to the average Nicaraguan who just struggles to make ends meet.

"We're better off with Chamorro because the war is over," said Orlando Flores Garcia, 72. He lost three of his 18 children in combat.

But Pablo Antonio Palacio, 17, said: "Things are the same as before. The only difference is that we don't have to go into the army."

Under the Sandinistas, the national currency was worthless, valued at thousands, then millions to the dollar. The monthly minimum wage sometimes was sufficient for only a few days of groceries. For several years, even water was rationed.

In Chamorro's first year, the hyperinflation of 13,500% has been accompanied by acute joblessness. Forty percent of Nicaragua's working population is unemployed or underemployed, said Godoy.

An economic plan unveiled in March is supposed to stabilize currency, prices and salaries, and encourage investment. But substantial economic recovery is several years away, economists say.

RainForest shop to have Guatemalan flavor

By PAULINE THOMA
PLAIN DEALER REPORTER

9/1/91

The gift shop in the Cleveland Metroparks Zoo's RainForest will become a colorful Guatemalan marketplace no matter which company wins a contract from the park board.

That idea, complete with attractive sketches, was proposed by both Novelty Ventures Inc., the present zoo concessionaire, and a Denver company, Service Systems Associates Inc.

The two companies submitted proposals that were opened on the bidding deadline Tuesday. Each is seeking a 10-year contract to sell merchandise in the RainForest and at other sites on zoo grounds.

Novelty Ventures' owner, Leonard Luxenberg, plans to offer "exotic, upscale merchandise similar in concept to that in museum and nature gift shops." The company contacted the Guatemalan Embassy to obtain a list of manufacturers and craftsmen from whom to obtain suitable authentic merchandise from the Central American country to feature in the RainForest, which opens in fall 1992

Novelty Ventures, which has held the gift franchise at the zoo for more than 30 years, is operating under a five-year contract that expires Dec. 31, 1992. One of the points emphasized in its proposal is a 25-year affiliation with one of the food bidders, Refreshment Services Co. of Boca Raton, Fla. That relationship has resulted in souvenir selling rights for Novelty at the World Series and at the Miami Beach and Cleveland convention centers.

Luxenberg has also managed souvenir operations at Cleveland's Stadium and the Pittsburgh Arena, Indianapolis Motor Speedway, Baltimore Civic Center and Cleveland National Air Show.

The company proposes an inventory that would include items ranging in price from 25 cents for an animal sticker to $300 for a floor lamp.

Novelty Ventures would spend a minimum of $202,000 to remodel and equip shops at five locations at the zoo. That figure includes $90,000 for the new shop in the RainForest, $45,000 for a shop in the Cat, Primate & Aquatics Building, $10,000 to buy wheelchairs and strollers to rent and $9,000 for mobile stands. The company may also build a merchandise warehouse at the zoo.

One option suggested by Novelty is to pay the zoo $200,000 annually for three years, $208,000 for years four through seven and $215,000 for years eight through 10. Under that plan, 1% of net sales revenue would be contributed for marketing and promotion. The other option would be a guarantee of $175,000 a year, plus percentages of net sales.

Novelty would employ 26 full-time salespeople, including 18 already on the staff.

Service Systems operates food and gift concessions at the Denver Zoo, Pittsburgh Zoo, Blank Park Zoo in Des Moines, Iowa, and the National Western Stock Show in Denver. It sells souvenirs and programs at Mile High Stadium during Denver Broncos home games.

The company also began managing the food service and merchandise sales on Aug. 15 at the San Francisco Zoo and is providing consulting services to the Toledo Zoo.

Service Systems lists 3,000 items to be offered, ranging in price from 10 cents for candy to $330 for a lion footstool.

The company proposes to spend $347,000 on capital improvements over the 10 years of the contract. That includes $62,000 for the new shop in the RainForest, $125,000 to renovate the shop at ZooGate Commons beside the lower-level main entrance, $20,000 to renovate the Upland Commons shop and $30,000 to build a warehouse.

The company would employ 12 salespeople, all in safari uniforms, on peak days and seven the rest of the season. It proposes to close shops in the Wade Building and at Upland and Big Creek Commons during the winter when visitor attendance drops.

The proposal from Service Systems is for commissions to be paid annually to the zoo, starting with $211,860 in 1993 and steadily increasing to $337,651 in 2002.

The company would also contribute 0.5% of its net annual sales toward cost of a zoo guide map.

The Metroparks board is expected to announce its choice in October.

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CURRICULUM

Margarita M. Lezcano

COURSE: Economic and Social Issues in the XX Century Narrative of Mexico and Central America.

OBJECTIVES: The seminar on THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA has helped me to modify my literature courses. I plan to teach this new course "Economic and Social Issues in the XX Century Narrative of Mexico and Central America" with a perspective based on the historical and economic development of the countries which will be covered. Literary and aesthetic issues will also be discussed.

During my trip, I was able to acquire some material for this future class (see attached bibliography). I researched old and new writers from the three countries in question, who are not very well known or even recognized by critics. In this class, I will also cover writers who are better known, but in this case the works will be studied more so for their political and economic content. Nicaragua was the only country where we did not have time to go to libraries or bookstores due to lack of time and the poor economic condition of the country.

This class will try to identify the social themes and the aesthetic innovations of several writers from Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras. Among the topics to be discussed are violence, alienation, loneliness, revolution, dictatorship, homelessness, quest for self identity and underdevelopment. Filmed interviews, videos and movies will be seen in the class (see attached list).

AUTHORS,
WORKS & THEMES: The authors will be grouped according to the already mentioned themes:

Revolution: The Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) will give the class the opportunity to explore the consequences of revolution in general. The Mexican Revolution gave birth to a new reality that would change Mexico forever. It created a new nation. The Mexicans felt proud of the achievements of their Revolution. They realized for the first time that they were the masters of their destiny. The events of such upheaval gave rise to a series of works that are in large part considered masterpieces. The novels written about the Revolution are an epic account of the heroic struggle of the Mexican people; they present a country fighting for a better society. The heroes of the Revolution gave the masses a sense or pride and self worth. The Mexican Revolution forced the writers of Mexico to pay attention to the problems of the common man and woman, to think about the political and econmic situation of the country, to face the consequences of injustice and violence and to realize that redemption was possible.

LOS DE ABAJO (The Underdogs) (1916) by Mariano Azuela, LA MUERTE DE ARTEMIO CRUZ (The Death of Artemio Cruz) (1962) and GRINGO VIEJO (Old Gringo) (1985) by Carlos Fuentes are the works that will be read in this section. Mariano Azuela actually participated in the Mexican Revolution and his novel THE UNDERDOGS describes the role that the "campesinos" played in it. Many of these men, very often fought without having a clear notion of why they were fighting. They did however have the conviction that the status quo needed to be changed. Carlos Fuentes was not even born during the years of the Mexican Revolution which makes his perspective somewhat unique. He is a member of what is known as the New Latin American Narrative and he presents in his works all the innovations and worries of this group of writers such as the disintegration of the established forms and norms of writing, experimentation with time, multiple narrative levels and the themes of alienation and corruption. Carlos Fuentes wants to reinterpret history to give the readers a new perspective of the events of the past.

In THE DEATH OF ARTEMIO CRUZ he addresses the corruption of the ideals of the Revolution, a problem that persists even now. During our lectures this summer, we learned that the intellectuals of Mexico are still talking about the Mexican Revolution and about the good and evil that came out of it. In OLD GRINGO, Carlos Fuentes presents the strange and conflictive relationship between Mexico and the United States, which has been adversely influenced by the scars of the Mexican-American War. He gives alternatives to for narrowing the gap between both cultures.

Dictatorship: EL SEÑOR PRESIDENTE (1949) by Miguel Angel Asturias of Guatemala, and some short stories by writers from Honduras, such as "La calle prohibida" (The Forbidden Street) by Pompeyo del Valle, "Crónica de un corresponsal no alienado" (A Journalist's Notebook) by Eduardo Bahr and "Abril, antes del mediodía" (April before Noon) by Julio Escoto will be read.

Since the XIX century, when José Mármol published his novel AMALIA (1855) about the misdeeds of the dictator (tyrant) Juan Manuel Rosas, the authors of Latin America have been fascinated by this archetypical figure. This character personifies the evils of corruption, violence and power. These "caudillos" or dictators appeared after the wars of Independence with Spain and desired some compensation for their efforts in the struggle against Royal Spain. Some of them decided that political power was the only way the country could repay them. The historians blame Spain, the Latin Americans themselves and the influence of the United States in the affairs of Latin America for the continuous presence of these characters in the political history of Latin America.

The fascination with the figure of the dictator is evident not only in Miguel Angel Asturias but also in many other writers from Latin America such as Gabriel García Márquez (EL OTOÑO DEL PATRIARCA), Roa Bastos (YO, EL SUPREMO), Alejo Carpentier (EL RECURSO DEL METODO) and Juan Rulfo (PEDRO PARAMO).

The importance of Miguel Angel Asturias is that he is the first Latin American to deal with the problem of dictatorship in our century; Valle Inclán, a Spaniard, began this trend in the twenties with his novel TIRANO BANDERAS (1926). Asturias' novel is an account of the fearsome dictatorship of Manuel Estrada Cabrera, who was in power in Guatemala for twenty two years (1898-1920). Cabrera Estrada symbolizes one of the darkest periods in the history of the country. The repression of the press and the political assassinations created an atmosphere of fear and hopelessness in Guatemala that even now the country is trying to forget and recover from. His novel was also, probably, the first in Latin America to attempt to revolutionize literary language, and to explore the relationship between myth and society. It was a challenge against the patriarchal authoritarianism of dictatorships and to the regionalist tendencies of the narrative of that time. EL SEÑOR PRESIDENTE presents the web of corruption and psychological terror of a country dominated by the whims of a dictator.

Homelessness and Poverty: CIPOTES (1959) by Ramón Amaya Amador deals with the children of the streets of Honduras. Ramón Amaya has not received adequate attention from the critics due to his socialistic ideas. He is however one of the best writers of Honduras and it is therefore necessary to re-evaluate critical pronouncements on his works. Through these children, who shine shoes in the streets of Tegucigalpa, the author gives us a realistic panorama of the political and economic situation of Honduras. He does this, focusing on the selfishness and lack of concern of the established society towards these children.

Underdevelopment and Capitalism: With his novel PRISION VERDE (GREEN PRISON) Ramón Amaya gives us an overview of the exploitation carried out by the fruit companies in Central America during the thirties. Here, the main themes are the intervention of the United States in Central America, and the capital provided by the United States and other foreign powers. We will also study a novel (BARRO) (Clay) by a virtually unknown writer, Paca Navas de Miralda, who writes about the banana plantations. The writers of Honduras have a chaotic and disorganized vision of their country. Revolutions, corruption and the intervention of other countries such as Spain, England and the

United States have caused them to have a pessimistic attitude about the future of their nation.

ADDITONAL MATERIAL: The students will be required to know about and to have an understanding of:

-Fundamental Developments in Latin American History
-Characteristics of the narrative works written on the Mexican Revolution
-Characteristics of the New Latin American Narrative
-Surrealism
-Magic realism
-Existentialism
-Archetypes vis-a-vis Latin American Literature
-Economic history of Mexico and Central America
-The solitude of Latin America
-Wars of Independence

IDEAS FOR PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS: Presentations: There will be two presentations: the first will consist of a general study of one of the countries to be covered; the second will take the form of a staged debate between a dictator and a revolutionary. The students will present the political ideas, background and relevance of the chosen dictator and revolutionary. The debate will concentrate on the importance of these figures in the historical and political development of their countries and in Latin America.

Paper: to be chosen from the following topics:

-The Military Establishment in Latin America
-The Church in Latin America
-The Indians of Latin America
-Economic development of a country or region of the area covered during the semester
-Minorities in Latin America

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VIDEOS AND MOVIES

Margarita M. Lezcano

ART AND REVOLUTION IN MEXICO (English): events of the history of Mexico portrayed in the works of Rivera and Siqueiros.(Video)

CROSSING BORDERS: THEY JOURNEY OF CARLOS FUENTES. An affectionate portrait of Mexico's foremost novelist probes beneath the surreal surface of his work to expose the roots of his fiction and its place in the world of literature. (Video)

FIRE ON THE MOUNTAIN. The repression of the military governments in Guatemala. (Video)

ROMERO. The life and assassination of bishop Romero en El Salvador. (Movie)

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION FROM 1920-1940. A recount of the most important events of the Mexican Revolution. (Video)

VOICES OF LATIN AMERICA. Through the life of several literary figures of Latin America we learn about the history and psychology of the Spanish speaking America. (Video)

M. Lezcano

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW LATIN AMERICAN NARRATIVE by J. Loveluck

1. Disintegration of the established forms and norms of writing.
2. Language becomes one of the main issues of the new literature. The new narrative is a rebellion against the old linguistic tradition.
3. The new novel is a combination of essay and novel. It questions everything: reality, humanity, language, society, religion and political institutions.
4. The new narrative experiments with time. The logical sequence of time is broken.
5. The influence of the cinema is very clear in the use of close-ups, fade outs, multiple view, flashback, decoupage and multiple narrative levels.
6. The authors have a tendency to create a novel open to different interpretations. The reader takes part in the interpretation of the novel, it becomes reader-author.
7. The new narrative is often obscure, difficult and with multiple narrative voices. The logic sequence of things has been broken.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW LATIN AMERICAN NARRATIVE by Ernesto Sabato

1. The new narrative is obsessed with the self.
2. It wants to interpretate the subconscious.
3. Life is seen as absurd and that is why one has to get rid of clarity to express it.
4. One of the main themes is loneliness and alienation of modern man/woman.
5. Physical love is seen as a means to communicate with other human beings, it takes a metaphysical dimension.
6. Literature is a means to understand the world and oneself.

MAIN AUTHORS OF THE NEW NARRATIVE:

GABRIEL GARCIA MARQUEZ
CARLOS FUENTES
LEZAMA LIMA
ANGEL ASTURIAS
JULIO CORTAZAR
JOSE DONOSO
ERNESTO SABATO
ISABEL ALLENDE
LUISA VALENZUELA
CABRERA INFANTE
ALEJO CARPENTIER
VARGAS LLOSA

M. Lezcano

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

1. When the president of Mexico, Benito Juarez, died in 1872, Lerdo was elected president, but Porfirio Diaz and his followers ousted him by 1876.

2. Porfirio Diaz had fought with Juarez against Maximilian and the French. Maximilian had become emperor of Mexico with the help of Napoleon and the Mexican oligarchy.

3. Diaz was in power for almost forty years. He achieved general stability, gave back to the church some of its old power, supported foreign capital, and created the famous rural police called "Los rurales." One hundred million acres fell into private hands, much of the land owned by the Indians was expropriated, and 95% of the people who worked the land did not own any of it. Mexico became the property of 3000 families.

4. By 1910, 2% of the population owned 75% of the land.

5. On November 20th, 1910, the Mexican Revolution started.

6. Francisco Madero, an idealist lawyer with liberal ideas, was able to become president. Porfirio Diaz left for Europe in 1911.

7. Madero did not have military support. Huerta, a military man with the help of Henry Wilson, the US ambassador to Mexico, was able to put Madero in prison, where he was murdered.

8. While this was happening, other revolutionary leaders became popular: Pascual Orozco, Pancho Villa (a kind of bandolero Robin Hood), Emiliano Zapata (the only true revolutionary, was an Indian who asked for bread, land and liberty for the peons), Veneciano Carranza (a governor).

9. Huerta was in power for 17 months. He was an alcoholic and very violent. At one point he detained 100 members of congress. Finally in 1914 he fled to the United States.

10. The U.S. decided to help Carranza and Obregon by sending arms to them. At this time many groups were fighting to gain power. One million persons died during these revolutionary years. One by one, all the leaders disappeared. Some were killed.

11. In 1915 President Wilson recognized the government of Carranza.

12. In 1920 Obregon became president.

13. Vasconcelos, a famous Mexican intellectual, worked with the government in the early 20's to improve the education system in Mexico. Rural schools were created by the hundreds.

14. Calles was elected president in 1924. He proclaimed laws against the Catholic Church. A group of fanatics called "Christeros" began a civil war.

15. The PNR (Partido Nacional Revolucionario) was formed in 1929.

16. Cardenas was elected president in 1934. He began the nationalization of many companies.

17. During the years from 1910 to 1920, the years of the Mexican Revolution, and thereafter by the year 1930 twenty thousand community farms had been created. Many schools were opened and the transportation system greatly improved. With the burgeoning of industrial sections the Mexicans considered themselves independent and mature, capable of directing their own destiny. For centuries the U.S., Spain and France had directed their destiny. With the Revolution came also a new pride in their Indian heritage portrayed in the arts.

> Indianism had been generally regarded by both groups only as an incubus. Thus four-fifths of the people of Mexico had been branded as coming wholly or partially from an inferior stock. But the explosive assertion of the Indian element during the Revolutionary decade led to the establishment of a better balance between the different strains.

M. Lezcano

CARLOS FUENTES -- b. 1928 Mexico

He has said:

1. A novel shows what the world has not discovered and maybe will never discover.

2. The brothel and despotism are our major institutions.

3. A writer should fight with words and criticisms.

4. Life is a series of selections that determine man's destiny.

5. A writer is a writer because he has read books and he is part of a literary heritage.

6. To be a Don Juan isn't love. I know this because I have been one. There is a moment when one realizes that to give the same value to all women is not to give them any. Don Juan is a man that denies his own value.

7. One loves a very few women because in reality one hates many of them, the majority. One fights against women; they are very strong. One wants to affirm himself, to be more than a son of a woman. One hates women because they are immortal, they give life.

8. Men are in rebellion against women, ideologies, religions, because all of them represent immortality. One feels very weak facing all of that.

9. Reality = Reality plus its mirrors.
   Carlos Fuentes believes like the existentialists that the victims and their oppressors are equally responsible. For him, modern man has lost faith and lives in a mechanical world, has suffered two wars and is a victim of individualism and feels the anguish of being and not being.

10. There are four main themes that worry Carlos Fuentes:
    - Freedom
    - Conscience
    - Power on others
    - Our image reflected in the minds of others.

Francisco Javier Ordiz said, "Carlos Fuestes's narrative doesn't pretend to entertain the readers but to make them aware of their reality, identity and to force them to change."

M. Lezcano

SURREALISM: Literary movement that appeared after the First World War 1914-1918. The young intellectuals of Europe rebelled against the status quo of the bourgeoisie. They wanted to transform the world and to change life. It represented a tragic conflict between the powers of the spirit and the conditions of life. They took a stand against Positivism and religion. It was a sabotage to reality, to society and its preconceived ideas.

Andre Breton is the father of Surrealism (which took from Dada and other avantgarde movements). Breton published his FIRST SURREALIST MANIFESTO in 1924 and the second in 1930.

Surrealism: automatic writing
thoughts without the control of reason
No moral or aesthetic preocupation
the believe in a superior reality
omnipotence of dreams
unconsciousness is the secret of creation
interest in the irrational
the study of dreams
interest in the psychological "I"
influences of the cinema
takes from Freud the importance of dreams, the notion of complexes, association of words etc
it wants us to regain our psychic powers
it gives importance to sex

Breton said: everything induces to believe that there is a part in our spirit where life and death, the real and the imaginary, past and future, what can be communicated and what cannot be communicated are not perceived as contradictions. We do not know where the disgust for logic can take us.

Surrealism can claim to bring about a synthesis between materialism and certain forms of pantheism and idealism.

For the Surrealists women are in close contact with the transforming agents of the universe. Love is a spiritualization of the physical and the objectification of the subjective.

Surrealists:
Apollinaire, Luis Aragon, Andre Breton, Luis Bunuel, Picasso, Dali, Chagall, Magritte, Joan Miro, Luis Cernuda, Jorge Luis Borges, Garcia Lorca and Vicente Aleixandre.

The Solitude of Latin America

José Clemente Orozco / Collection of The Museum of Modern Art

By Gabriel García Márquez

Gabriel García Márquez, who won the 1982 Nobel Prize in Literature, delivered the following Nobel lecture in Stockholm in December. (It was translated from the Spanish by Marina Castaneda.)

ANTONIO Pigafetta, a Florentine navigator who went with Magellan on the first voyage around the world, wrote, upon his passage through our southern lands of America, a strictly accurate account that nonetheless resembles a venture into fantasy.

In it he recorded that he had seen hogs with navels on their haunches, clawless birds whose hens laid eggs on the backs of their mates, and others still, resembling tongueless pelicans, with beaks like spoons. He wrote of having seen a misbegotten creature with the head and ears of a mule, a camel's body, the legs of a deer and the whinny of a horse. He described how the first native encountered in Patagonia was confronted with a mirror, whereupon that impassioned giant lost his senses to the terror of his own image.

This short and fascinating book, which even then contained the seeds of our present-day novels, is by no means the most staggering account of our reality in that age.

The Chroniclers of the Indies left us countless others. El Dorado, our so avidly sought and illusory land, appeared on numerous maps for many a long year, shifting its place and form to suit the fantasy of cartographers. In his search for the fountain of eternal youth, the mythical Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca explored the north of Mexico for eight years, in a deluded expedition whose members devoured each other and only five of whom returned, of the 600 who had undertaken it. One of the many unfathomed mysteries of that age is that of the 11,000 mules, each loaded with 100 pounds of gold, that left Cuzco one day to pay the ransom of Atahualpa and never reached their destination. Subsequently, in colonial times, hens were sold in Cartegena de Indias that had been raised on alluvial land and whose gizzards contained tiny lumps of gold. One founder's lust for gold beset us until recently. As late as the last century, a German mission appointed to study the construction of an interoceanic railroad across the Isthmus of Panama concluded that the project was feasible on one condition: that the rails not be made of iron, which was scarce in the region, but of gold.

Our independence from Spanish domination did not put us beyond the reach of madness. Gen. Antonio López de Santana, three times dictator of Mexico, held a magnificent funeral for the right leg he had lost in the so-called Pastry War. Gen. Gabriel García Moreno ruled Ecuador for 16 years as an absolute monarch; at his wake, the corpse was seated on the presidential chair, decked out in full-dress uniform and a protective layer of medals. Gen. Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, the theosophical despot of El Salvador who had 30,000 peasants slaughtered in a savage massacre, invented a pendulum to detect poison in his food, and had street lamps draped in red paper to defeat an epidemic of scarlet fever. The statue to Gen. Francisco Morazán erected in the main square of Tegucigalpa is actually one of Marshal Ney, purchased at a Paris warehouse of second-hand sculptures.

Eleven years ago, the Chilean Pablo Neruda, one of the outstanding poets of our time, enlightened this audience with his word. Since then, the Europeans of good will — and sometimes those of bad, as well — have been struck, with ever greater force, by the unearthly tidings of Latin America, that boundless realm of haunted men and historic women, whose unending obstinacy blurs into legend.

We have not had a moment's rest. A promethean president, entrenched in his burning palace, died fighting an entire army, alone; and two suspicious airplane accidents, yet to be explained, cut short the life of another great-hearted president and that of a democratic soldier who had revived the dignity of his people.

There have been 5 wars and 17 military coups; there emerged a diabolic dictator who is carrying out, in God's name, the first Latin American ethnocide of our time. In the meantime, 20 million Latin American children died before the age of one — more than have been born in Europe since 1970. Those missing because of repression number nearly 120,000, which is as if no one could account for all the inhabitants of Upsala. Numerous women arrested while pregnant have given birth in Argentine prisons, yet nobody knows the whereabouts and identity of their children, who were furtively adopted or sent to an orphanage by order of the military authorities. Because they tried to change this state of things, nearly 200,000 men and women have died throughout the continent, and over 100,000 have lost their lives in three small and ill-fated countries of Central America: Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. If this had happened in the United States, the corresponding figure would be that of 1,600,000 violent deaths in four years.

One million people have fled Chile, a country with a tradition of hospitality — that is, 10 percent of its population. Uruguay, a tiny nation of two and a half million inhabitants, which considered itself the continent's most civilized country, has lost to exile one out of every five citizens. Since 1979, the civil war in El Salvador has produced almost one refugee every 20 minutes. The country that could be formed of all the exiles and forced emigrants of Latin America would have a population larger than that of Norway.

I dare to think that it is this outsized reality, and not just its literary expression, that has deserved the attention of the Swedish Academy of Letters. A reality not of paper, but one that lives within us and determines each instant of our countless daily deaths, and that nourishes a source of insatiable creativity, full of sorrow and beauty, of which this roving and nostalgic Colombian is but one cipher more, singled out by fortune. Poets and beggars, musicians and prophets, warriors and scoundrels, all creatures of that unbridled reality, we have had to ask but little of imagination, for our crucial problem has been a lack of conventional means to render our lives believable. This, my friends, is the crux of our solitude.

David Alfaro Siqueiros / Collection of The Museum of Modern Art

And if these difficulties, whose essence we share, hinder us, it is understandable that the rational talents on this side of the world, exalted in the contemplation of their own cultures, should have found themselves without a valid means to interpret us. It is only natural that they insist on measuring us with the yardstick that they use for themselves, forgetting that the ravages of life are not the same for all, and that the quest of our own identity is just as arduous and bloody for us as it was for them. The interpretation of our reality through patterns not our own serves only to make us ever more unknown, ever less free, ever more solitary.

Venerable Europe would perhaps be more perceptive if it tried to see us in its own past. If only it recalled that London took 300 years to build its first city wall, and 300 years more to acquire a bishop; that Rome labored in a gloom of uncertainty for 20 centuries, until an Etruscan king anchored it in history; and that the peaceful Swiss of today, who feast us with their mild cheeses and apathetic watches, bloodied Europe as soldiers of fortune as late as the 16th century. Even at the height of the Renaissance, 12,000 lansquenets in the pay of the imperial armies sacked and devastated Rome and put 8,000 of its inhabitants to the sword.

I do not mean to embody the illusions of Tonio Kroger, whose dreams of uniting a chaste north to a passionate south were exalted here, 53 years ago, by Thomas Mann. But I do believe that those clear-sighted Europeans who struggle, here as well, for a more just and humane homeland, could help us far better if they reconsidered their way of seeing us. Solidarity with our dreams will not make us feel less alone, as long as it is not translated into concrete acts of legitimate support for all the peoples that assume the illusion of having a life of their own in the distribution of the world.

Latin America neither wants, nor has any reason, to be a pawn without a will of its own; nor is it merely wishful thinking that its quest for independence and originality should become a Western aspiration. However, the navigational advances that have narrowed such distances between our Americas and Europe seem, conversely, to have accentuated our cultural remoteness.

Why is the originality so readily granted us in literature so mistrustfully denied us in our different attempts at social change? Why think that the social justice sought by progressive Europeans for their own countries cannot also be a goal for Latin America, with different methods for dissimilar conditions? No. The immeasurable violence and pain of our history are the result of age-old inequities and untold bitterness, and not a conspiracy plotted 3,000 leagues from our homes. But many European leaders and thinkers have thought so, with the childishness of old-timers who have forgotten the fruitful excesses of their youth as if it were impossible to find another destiny than to live at the mercy of the two great masters of the world. This, my friends, is the very scale of our solitude.

In spite of this, to oppression, plundering and abandonment, we respond with life. Neither floods nor plagues, nor famines nor cataclysms, nor even the eternal wars of century upon century have been able to subdue the persistent advantage of life over death. An advantage that grows and quickens. Every year, there are 74 million more births than deaths, a sufficient number of new lives to multiply, each year, the population of New York sevenfold. Most of these births occur in the countries of least resources — including, of course, those of Latin America. Conversely, the most prosperous countries have succeeded in accumulating powers of destruction such as to annihilate, a hundred times over, not only all the human beings that have existed to this day but also the totality of all living beings that have ever drawn breath on this planet of misfortune.

On a day like today, my master William Faulkner said, "I decline to accept the end of man." I would feel unworthy of standing in this place that was his if I were not fully aware that the colossal tragedy he refused to recognize 32 years ago is now, for the first time since the beginning of humanity, nothing more than a simple scientific possibility. Faced with this awesome reality that must have seemed a mere utopia through all of human time, we, the inventors of tales, who will believe anything, feel entitled to believe that it is not yet too late to engage in the creation of the opposite utopia. A new and sweeping utopia of life, where no one will be able to decide for others how they die, where love will prove true and happiness be possible, and where the races condemned to one hundred years of solitude will have, at last and forever, a second opportunity on earth.

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(Publication of the full English text in the United States was authorized last week by Gabriel García Márquez.)

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GROUP OF 100

A LATIN AMERICAN ECOLOGICAL ALLIANCE*

On the eve of the 500th anniversary of the meeting of two worlds and two natural realms, as we near the end of the 20th century and the second millennium, the Earth is experiencing its worst ecological crisis in history — a crisis that not only threatens the existence of thousands of plant and animal species but the survival of the human species as well. For this reason the issue of the environment cannot be ignored at the first summit of the 19 Latin American presidents, nor can our countries afford to be absent when global decisions are taken to protect humankind's natural heritage. That is why we, men and women of letters from Latin America, propose that our heads of state create a Latin American Ecological Alliance whose goal is to protect and preserve our nations' biological diversity, working together in those areas where cooperation is feasible.

We know that almost half the world's tropical forests have disappeared; that between 16 and 20 million hectares are permanently cleared each year and a species becomes extinct every hour; that by the year 2000 three-quarters of America's tropical forests may have been felled and 50 percent of their species lost forever. What Nature created in the course of millions of years will be destroyed by us in little more than 40 years. While the world wonders if there is any future for tropical forests, we wonder if there is any future for us and for the world. An awareness of the consequences of natural resource depletion and environmental damage has already made its way into the Latin American consciousness: No nation on our continent can escape their negative effects.

Latin America has much to save: 68 percent of the world's remaining 900 million hectares of tropical forest are here, one-third of them in Brazil alone; Panama is home to as many plant species as the whole of Europe; the Tambopata Reserved Zone in Peru is the richest bird and butterfly habitat in the world; the plants and animals found on the *tepuis* in Venezuela are natural treasures; the Lacandon rain forest is the largest in North America; not only does one-fifth of the world's freshwater flow through the Amazon River Basin every day, but one-fifth of all bird species are found in Amazon forests. Mexico and Colombia are among the four countries in the world with the greatest diversity of flora and fauna.

Because we realize there are many environmental problems and we understand the difficulties facing our national economies, we shall limit our proposals to a few specific concerns. First and foremost is the protection of our tropical and temperate forests, threatened with destruction throughout the continent, from the lenga forests on Tierra del Fuego in Chile to the virgin forests in the Sierra de Chihuahua in Mexico.

One initiative which could be launched during the meeting in Guadalajara would be the creation of an Amazonian Pact among the South American countries which share the world's richest and most complex ecosystem and its most extensive genetic resources. The mere possibility of seeing this natural endowment of humankind — and especially of Latin Americans — go up in smoke and become a wasteland is intolerable. An environmental loss of that magnitude would be a catastrophe for the entire planet, for life on Earth does not recognize borders.

Mexico and Guatemala share the ruins of Mayan civilization, the Usumacinta River and the vast tropical forest which covers the state of Chiapas and El Petén. When the Mayans flourished during the first millennium of our era, the Usumacinta River was an important means of cultural communication and the cities on its banks controlled large areas on both shores. To ensure the preservation of the region's environment, a binational ecoarchaeological park should be created which would encompass both sides of the river. This park could serve as a model for other joint projects in border areas as well as complementing current conservation programs such as the Montes Azules Biosphere Reserve.

The maintenance and protection of biodiversity must be a primary objective of interAmerican environmental cooperation. Within this framework an agreement should be negotiated for the protection of sea turtles along their migratory routes, for no single nation can effectively conserve these species but a single nation can destroy them. A basic agreement would recognize the migratory nature of the sea turtle species along the east Pacific, from Chile to Mexico, and along the Caribbean and Atlantic coasts. The accord would establish a commission of marine biologists, conservationists and government representatives charged with preparing a report on the present situation of the sea turtle, indicating what needs to be done nationally and regionally, and a list of priority actions with recommendations for their implementation and support.

In regard to migratory birds, America's main flyway cuts across eastern Mexico, crosses Central America and continues into the Amazon. A huge concentration of birds follows that route every year. Another important route extends down the Pacific Coast from Canada and some species press as far south as Chile and Argentina. There is no country in Latin America through which birds do not fly in major migrations, including such species as the bobolink, the peregrine falcon, the blue-winged teal, Swainson's hawk, snipes and other shorebirds. We are alarmed by the impending loss of biological diversity in our continent and we ask our presidents to protect migrating birds by promoting the establishment of sanctuaries at the stop-over sites and wintering areas of these species. Each country would determine what measures it would take to comply. The habitats in need of protection include wetlands, beaches, islands, forests, prairies and deserts.

Every year millions of tons of hazardous wastes are exported to Latin America, which has become the favorite dumping ground for toxic wastes generated by American, European and Japanese companies. Seventy-eight percent of these emanate from the United States. Most of the waste is shipped to countries in the Caribbean or Central America, or to Brazil, Argentina and Mexico — countries which already have enough problems dealing with their own wastes without having to cope with imports. Most of the shipments consist of nuclear waste, organic chemicals, toxic liquids, incinerator ash, heavy metals, lubricants, paint and sludge. International waste trade is on the rise, frequently illegal and often camouflaged as "recycling" — polluting the environment and endangering human life and our ecosystems for countless decades.

Given the difficulty of monitoring the quantity, nature and ultimate destination of these wastes, we ask that the traffic and transport of hazardous and nuclear wastes across borders be banned throughout the continent. We call for the enactment of national and international legislation on this matter. Our standards and laws should be as strict as those in the highly developed countries. Latin America must not become the waste dump of the industrialized world.

On the Earth's map it is possible to draw another map: a map of the forests and jungles which are disappearing before our very eyes. And on that map of deforestation and depredation we can draw yet another map: the map of peoples threatened by the destruction of their environment. There we find the Yanomami and the Apinaye in Brazil, the Aché in Paraguay, the Yagua and the Amuesha in Peru, the Miskito in Nicaragua, the Guaymi and Kuna in Panama, the Maya in Guatemala, the Paez and Guambiano in Colombia, the Mapuche in Chile, the Lacandon Maya and the Tarahumara in Mexico. Unrestrained logging, cattle ranching, resettlement programs and forcible expulsion from their lands to make way for mining interests, timber extractors and ranchers, the threat of economic slavery, road-building and hydroelectric schemes, mass tourism projects — all have an impact on these groups.

As we approach the quincentenary of the encounter of two worlds, the inclusion of our indigenous peoples in our governments' economic development plans must become a priority. All too often the destruction of their environment entails the violation of their human rights as they lose their habitat and their means of sustenance, their social systems and their religious practices. Before the arrival of the Europeans, the pre-Colombian peoples from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego lived off their ecosystems without destroying them, and they have an historical right to continue doing so.

Messrs. Presidents: We are part of a global problem which requires global solutions. It is imperative that we formulate an environmental policy which will effectively protect our rich biological diversity. We are certain that whatever agreement you may reach for the creation of a Latin American Ecological Alliance, and the concomitant political decisions taken to implement such an Alliance in each of your countries, will benefit present and future generations of Latin Americans. It will also serve as an example to be followed by heads of state on other continents. Environmental considerations have a place on any agenda which addresses the future of

Octavio Paz (Mexico)
Jorge Amado (Brazil)
Adolfo Bioy Casares (Argentina)
Arturo Uslar Pietri (Venezuela)
Severo Sarduy (Cuba)
Augusto Monterroso (Guatemala)
Roberto Juarroz (Argentina)
José Donoso (Chile)
Emilio Adolfo Westphalen (Peru)
Carlos Monsivais (Mexico)

Gabriel Garcia Marquez (Colombia)
Juan Carlos Onetti (Uruguay)
Carlos Fuentes (Mexico)
Nelida Piñon (Brazil)
Olga Orozco (Argentina)
Claribel Alegria (El Salvador)
Luis Cardoza y Aragon (Guatemala)
Mario Benedetti (Uruguay)
Jose Emilio Pacheco (Mexico)
Enrique Molina (Argentina)

Homero Aridjis (Mexico)
Ernesto Sabato (Argentina)
Augusto Roa Bastos (Paraguay)
Nicanor Parra (Chile)
João Cabral de Melo Neto (Brazil)
Isabel Allende (Chile)
Fernando del Paso (Mexico)
Alvaro Mutis (Colombia)
Gonzalo Rojas (Chile)
Eliseo Diego (Cuba)

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*Proposal delivered to the 19 Latin American presidents by Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Homero Aridjis on the occasion of the First Ibero-American Summit, Mexico, July 19, 1991

GLOBAL EDUCATION

Anne Lombard

INVESTIGATIVE PROJECT: SHIFTING THE BOUNDARIES

Objectives

1. To learn about global and third-world issues.
2. To begin to understand the origins and development of non-Western civilization.
3. To experience process writing and peer editing.
4. To learn to teach about important issues without imposing your own viewpoint.

Procedure

Choose a third-world country that you know little about. Each person will choose a different country and you can teach one another about your country. Find out as much as you can about the country and decide on a critical issue upon which to focus. You may be interested in a particular issue and choose a country because it is struggling with that issue. Issues may be political, social, biological, environmental, educational, economic, linguistic or other. Examples are hunger, democracy or totalitarianism, overpopulation, health, illiteracy, communication, forests, extinction of species, etc.

Whatever the issue, it has controversial aspects either within the country or within the larger world community. Whatever your own personal viewpoint, study the issue in relation to the country, look at both sides of the issue and attempt to understand it from different points of view. This will mean studying both the country and the issue.

Your written work will present various aspects of the country, including the issue studied. You will also take a position regarding the issue. This will be an opportunity to use your new knowledge to express your point of view and suggestions.

Your presentation to the class will be different. You will provide members of the class with some information a week before your presentation so that we can read something about your country and issue. Find some way to involve the class actively in the issue without imposing your point of view or conclusions.

Important Dates:		
	Sept. 30	- Overview due.
	Nov. 11	- Draft *1 due. Peer editing.
	Dec. 9	- Final draft due.
	Dec. 2, 9, 16	- Presentations.

Sample Ecological Issues

Agriculture
Urban Pollution
Deforestation
Estuary Ecosystems
Biodiversity
Population Pressures
Oil

The following working paper, The Environment: Mexico and Central America: Problems and Solutions was written as background for the above described curriculum project.

THE ENVIRONMENT

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Submitted by:
Anne Lombard

October 13, 1991

THE ENVIRONMENT: MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Development is an ongoing theme in Mexico and Central America. Development signifies purposeful change leading to increased efficiency and productivity, improved opportunities to increase human potential, improved education and living standards. The question raised by this paper is whether this development will result in increased exploitation of human and natural resources, the continuation and acceleration of patterns which have tormented these countries in the past.

MEXICO

Originally the families of the small village of San Miguel de Canoa grew corn and beans, the essence of their diet. The beans returned nitrogen to the soil, keeping the land fertile. When encouraged to increase their cultivation of corn for export, they stopped growing beans. The soil became exhausted and the people required money for fertilizer and to purchase beans to eat. The men had to leave the land and go to work in a neighboring city and the women did the work of the men.

Ricardo has a job teaching and researching at ITAM, a university in Mexico City. His daughter, four, is continually ill with respiratory problems. When he taught in Los Angeles for a year, her health improved considerably. Juan Carlos lives with his family in Mexico City because no other area provides similar opportunities for teaching and study. His wife and children must leave the city for a place in the country every weekend for health purposes. Christina, a woman who lives in the heart of the city, asks rhetorically, "What can you do?" You learn to live with it. Work is here."

Sunrise is a grey haze. The mountains surrounding the

Mexico City are rarely visible. Those who wanted to see the total solar eclipse on July 11, 1991 had to leave the city.

Many feel that Mexico City's ecological problems originated when Spaniards upset the ecological balance maintained by the Aztecs. Mexico City has one-fifth of the population and one-third of the economic activity of Mexico, three million vehicles, and 42,000 factories. The city increases by 700,000 each year. Public transportation is inexpensive (300 pesos) and little monetary incentive exists to live near one's workplace. Only 20% of the city population has metered water. All water is heavily subsidized with the diminishing supply being pumped from up to 150 miles away. It is difficult to cover and process dumps because of the number of people living from the dumps (Ricardo Samaniego, ITAM, personal communication, July 8, 1991).

A 1982 law has set up a conservation zone in the southwestern outskirts of the city. It was established in 1987 and the conservation people work with farmers living there to decide on land use. It is very difficult to manage due to the fact that some ejidos are within the conservation district. The land use of the ejidos cannot be altered. Some ejidarios are selling this land that doesn't belong to them. They are also cutting forests and exhausting the land. But economically the ejidarios cannot wait.

People enter the city and set up little colonies without services. We were shown a field across from a woman's house where a group of people one night appeared and within 24 hours had filled the field with homes. Nobody removed them. If the city installs services, the size of the colony immediately doubles. Politicians sometimes give the people deeds to this land, and are then supported by these people whom they have helped.

Forestry problems in Mexico are particularly severe. Grazing is probably the worst scourge. The low, new trees are removed so that when the older trees die, nothing replaces them. In Mexico it is legal to cut dead trees in national forests. This policy results in the disturbance of living trees which the people leave and return to cut later (P. Murphy, personal communication, July 4, 1991). Between 1974 and 1986 60% of the Mexican forest was destroyed. All will be lost by 2020 if the current rate of 7.7% destruction per year continues. Forty percent is now pasture land and 45% secondary vegetation.

Eighty percent of the wetlands in the south of Mexico has been lost since 1976 with a tremendous increase in bare soil. When roads were put in by the army, an acceleration of deforestation occurred along these routes. Very few of the mangrove forests, important estuary ecosystems, remain, due to pollution and transportation. With the international investment and resource development in Mexico, how will environmental quality be assured?

After Mexico joined GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), timber exports increased. It is felt that the Free Trade Agreement will only increase exploitation, particularly in the poorest areas of the south which have the most forests.

Ejido parcels go to families but by law remain communal property. Two-thirds of all ejidos in Chiapas have forests and eighty percent of all forests are in ejido systems. Only 6% of the ejidos that have forests have the machinery to use the forest resources. Most are being cut for subsistence agriculture and cattle rather than timber. Some ejidos contract out their forest resources to international timber companies although this is usually unauthorized.

Biodiversity

Mexico may be third in the world with respect to biodiversity. It ranks first in the number of reptile species, second in mammals, fourth in amphibians, first in gymnosperms and fourth in angiosperms. About 50% of these species live exclusively in Mexico.

A National Development Plan (1989-1994) is being put into effect. The objectives are the modernization of Mexico, economic recovery, and environmental protection. The current policies regarding the environment include regional land use planning, environmental impact assessment, and environmental risk assessment.

In 1988 environmental legislation, a general law of ecological equilibrium and environmental protection, was enacted. This included a forestry law, fishery law, federal water law and a hunting law. One action resulting from this law was the closing of a major oil refinery plant in Mexico City (Pastor, 1990).

The following legal limitations are becoming evident; problems of definition, of biodiversity and the overlapping of laws. The cultural limitations of the law include problems of priorities and advocacy, ignorance, and the role of the required environmental impact assessments. Technical problems include data availability and reliability and lack of regional land use planning. It is generally agreed among environmentalists that the environmental impact statement should occur earlier in the planning process. Other proposed solutions include increased training in environmental natural resource management, the creation and support of data bases, and the use of appropriate networks. Unfortunately there is no connection at this time between what people locally want in terms of development projects and the national interest. Long-term and short-terms goals are continually in conflict (L. C. Belausteguigoitia, personal communication, July 8, 1991.)

Quintan Roo is a 100,000 hectare ejido, one of the few models of forest use. The government provided mills for communities there and reforestation follows cutting.

Possible solutions to the ejido land use problems are to:

1. Make the association of ejidos and private capital easier. They can only associate three years by law now. Longer contract periods are needed.
2. Allow association of ejidos to produce economies of scale.
3. Pay for conserving area to protect biodiversity.
4. Try to anticipate what effect free trade will have on ejido land use.

Solutions to urban pollution are being developed by the economists and environmentalists of Mexico with hope that they will be considered by the government. These include:

1. Economic incentives. Costs need to be represented in profits. These incentives could include pollution charges for emissions, pollution abatement subsidies, and prices of imputs provided by state-owned companies which consider the environmental impact of production and consumption of fuel and water. But these proposed solutions are politically difficult to implement. A recent poll indicated that Mexicans are more concerned than people in the US and Canada about the environment, but frequently the choice is food or clean air. The World Bank has just approved a five million loan for increased enforcement of pollution and Mexico has increased its air pollution controllers from five to sixty in the past year (J. C. Belausteguigoitia, personal communication, July 8, 1991).
2. Adequate provision of inputs and services by state-owned companies. Fuels are of low quality. Because PEMEX has not

invested in clean gasoline, it must be imported. Throughout Mexico and Central America second-hand school buses are purchased from the United States and refitted with diesel engines with deleterious results to the air. Previously there was a law that only the state owned PEMEX could produce detergents. The only ones they produced were non bio-degradable. Now the law has been redefined so that other companies can produce detergents. DDT is still used throughout Mexico and Central America.

3. Public opinion. International public opinion is significant. Branches of multinational companies supposedly will be closing in Mexico if standards of the Free Trade Agreement are not met. At this time, of 500 maquiladoras, only 150 are controlling pollution. Because people within Mexico are not well-informed, public opinion cannot be used yet within the country. For example, a rule was put into effect that each car could not be used one day in Mexico City. A 20% reduction in air pollution was anticipated. What was not anticipated was that those with means bought a second car to use on the prohibited day.

4. Consumers' Movement. Consumers take an active role in boycotting products in the US, but this is not an important force in Mexico because of the low income level and lack of information.

The Free Trade Agreement which the Mexican government hopes will be signed between Mexico, U.S., and Canada may well have some environmental disadvantages as well as the many advantages which are anticipated (Whalen, 1990-1991). Although the environmentalists will put pressure on Mexico to raise environmental standards, Mexico will not respond readily if the message is sent "They pollute because they are dirty." Mexico will focus on minimizing pollution when it has the incentive and the funds (J. Nicholson, personal communication, July 1, 1991).

CENTRAL AMERICA

HONDURAS

Deforestation: The causes of deforestation fall into three areas; historical, demographic, and land use.

1. Historical. Originally the Indians of Honduras farmed the fertile valleys and the mountains remained forested. As Europeans arrived, the valleys were taken for cattle and export crops and the indigenous people were forced to the hills. Because the Spaniards who were working the mines wanted people around for food and work they gave the Indians small "minifundios." Historical land titles were lost years ago when Guatemala controlled most of Central America. Now only valley lands have titles and it is very difficult to obtain title to higher lands. In reality the government owns the forests. Local people do not agree with the government management of the forests and over 3000 forest fires were set last year as objections to government policy. In an attempt to decentralize, some of the power has passed now to municipalities and mayors have made unpopular decisions(C. Sabillon, personal communication, July 23, 1991; COHDEFOR, 1990).

2. Demographic pressure. Population increase (100% increase in the past 20 years, the 4th highest birth rate in the world) and immigration from the south have resulted in great pressure on the land. Sixty percent of the people live off of the land. Health programs, largely provided by the international community, have significantly cut infant mortality rates. But families still remain large, resulting in great pressure to farm all available land (Barry and Norsworthy, 1990). Even though the government doesn't officially condone birth control, it does allow birth control groups to

work. In rural areas marriages usually take place when the girls are 12 and the boys 14. The children go with their parents to the field.

3. Land Use. It seems to be the small farmer, struggling to survive who is most damaging to the environment. Migrant subsistence agriculture is the main cause of deforestation. Slash and burn is the method of clearing forests, a method which results in erosion of the hills. People stay for two years and then move on, the exhausted soil only useful for grazing. A constant conflict between cattle grazing and forest management exists. The 30 year cycle for the growth of harvestable trees is prevented by cattle browsing throughout the forests. In addition, seventy percent of the energy consumption of the country is from wood. Many factories and most homes use wood for cooking (Jeffrey, 1987).

The shrimpers cut down mangroves for fuel and to enlarge shrimp ponds, not knowing that mangrove swamps are needed for early shrimp stages of growth. Large shrimp farmers generally make their own ponds away from the mangroves. Education will be crucial in changing these patterns (LarsKlassen, U.S. Embassy, personal communication, July 20, 1991)

The proposed solution is "agroforestry". The ideal is to have trees on the hills and agriculture in the valleys. Because of extreme poverty and population pressures, forestry policy must relate to the needs of the people. Incentives must be developed for sustainable forestry and for the planting of trees.

International environmental organizations and local organizations such as the Honduran Ecological Association (personal communication, July 16, 1991) are learning to work with industry, "the enemy" because of the hunger of the people. Development and natural resources must be tied together. "Sustainable development" aims for cooperation between the experts and campesinos, consultation with the people before a project is developed. Powerful people are deforesting protected areas which makes it difficult to provide good models for the campesinos (Honduras: State for Sale: 1985).

Two new directions are promising. One is a law being proposed for the legislature which will provide incentives for reforestation and protection of the forests which exist (El Bosque Es Vida, 1990; Bulletin #7 of La Asociacion Hondurena de Ecologia, 1990). The second is a new plan, The Tropical Forestry Action Plan, which involves all the countries of the world with tropical forests. (Manual Paz, Personal Communication, July 21, 1991). Each country involved meets with the international community to discuss plans for its forests.

Contamination of Water.

No town or city in Honduras treats its sewage and all industry sends its wastes untreated to the rivers. Because of the current cholera epidemic a campaign has started to build latrines and clean up the markets. Radio is the primary means of communication of health messages to the population.

NICARAGUA

Nicaraguan history is a violent interplay of external and internal forces which include exploitation, rivalry, conflict, violent earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and hurricanes. It is ironic that Nicaragua's major archeological site is not the remains of a significant pre-Columbian city but the footprints of Indians fleeing a volcanic eruption 2000 years ago.

The state has rarely worked for and been responsible to the mass of the population. It generally has used its energy to perpetuate itself, an effort which has resulted in national cynicism about government and distrust of foreign influence and intentions. Conflict came to a head during the late 1970's with the effort of the Sandinistas to overthrow the 45 year role of the Somoza family dynasty. The 1979 victory was accompanied by hope for a permanent change in Nicaraguan history. The Contra War, financed by the US, destroyed much of the progress made by the Sandinistas. The GMP fell back to its level of 40 years ago. Nicaragua had the highest inflation rate in the world and the highest share of government control in all affairs of any government. By 1988 everything was subsidized. People would buy $17 pesticide for $1 and then sell the empty bottle for $2. A new tractor cost less than a tire to repair the old one. The election in 1990 has provided hope for reconciliation and progress (McCoy, 1991; Lic. Mario J. Flores, Asesor del Presidente del Banco Central de Nicaragua, personal communication, July 26, 1991).

At the present time the State does not have enough money even to maintain what is left of the infrastructure of the country, let alone subsidize environmental needs. So IRENA, the National Park Service, depends upon foreign aid.

Cotton which was grown at great profit for 20 years after World War II has destroyed the best soils of the most fertile plains. Somozo moved the "minifundos" of the peasants to the Atlantic Coast and the area, planted with cotton, is now an agricultural desert. This was done with USAID. Both meat and milk, including the milk of mothers contains a dangerous amount of DDT. The content of DDT in the mollusks in mangrove swamps in Nicaragua is twelve times higher than anywhere else in the world. Managua Lake has become the most polluted lake in Latin America, full of sewage, mercury, boron, and arsenic. It will take ten years to clean it up, even if the funding were available (Dr. Francisco Mayorga, personal communication, July 26, 1991).

One positive effect of the Contra War was that it delayed the destruction of the rain forests. Peasants were prevented from slashing and burning because they had to leave for safer places and the forestry areas had to close. In 1975 the lowest deforestation rate occurred. Because people moved to the west coast, the degradation of these areas accelerated. Now that peace has returned to the country, new conservation areas are opening up to deforestation. In 1990 over 150,000 hectares were destroyed, the largest number ever. The government will have a problem declaring reserves for the forests on the Atlantic coast because indigenous peoples and cooperatives have claim to the land. Many "Paper Parks" have been declared by legal degree but they are not being protected.

At the end of July, 1991 very destructive floods occurred in Rama, Nicaragua. This is the cattle ranching basin of the country and 80% of the area is deforested. In this area 200,000 hectares of trees are cut per year, a rate which will leave no trees by the year 2000 (La Prensa, July 26, 1991; Barricada, July 27, 1991). The compaction of the soil and its reduced ability of absorption during the rainy season are direct causes of the devastating flood.

An amazing amount of biodiversity exists in the great stretch of land which includes parts of Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica. These countries are beginning to work together to protect this land (Hamilton, 1990).

The conclusion of the environmental organizations both international and within Nicaragua is that the social problems must be solved before the environmental problems can be solved. The people need sustainable alternatives to the destruction of the environment. Nicaragua will need outside help if total destruction is to be prevented.

Privatization is being promoted in Mexico and Central America at this time and the environmental impact of this policy needs to be examined. As soon as timber companies open up roads and railroads the settlers rush in to plant cotton and other crops, not crops necessarily appropriate for the soil which retains fertility for less than three years.

Concerned people in Nicaragua are beginning to discuss and plan new policies in an attempt to reverse these negative trends. New sustainable methods of agriculture are beginning on a small scale. During the past three years six cooperatives are using organic methods of farming in an attempt to reverse the overuse of pesticides. Markets have been found in Europe already, where integrated pest management is strongly supported. A college of sustainable farming now exists in Santa Lucia where new techniques of soil conservation are being developed.

Once the land problem is solved, techniques of agro-forestry will be taught whereby belts of trees and crops are alternated.

North-American conservation groups are becoming increasingly active in Central America. The Nature Conservancy with its new "Last Great Places: An Alliance for People and the Environment" initiative is leading the way in exploring how economic activity and environmental protection can be compatible (Sawhill, 1991).

New caution about foreign investment is appearing. Taiwan has requested to buy a big section of land for lumber and industry. A delegation is going to Malaysia to study a similar project there to see if it is truly sustainable as claimed. Industry is wanted, but it must be industry that sustains the land.

GUATEMALA

To gain perspective on the environmental problems in Guatemala the basic situation of the people must be considered. This country is not so different in its statistics from the other Central American countries discussed in which 30% of the population has sanitation, which might include anything from a latrine to a flush toilet. Only 20% of the rural population has piped water of dubious quality. Eighty percent of the children under five has clinical symptoms of malnourishment.

The environmental problems are similar to those mentioned for the other countries. Reforestation, even when efficiently pursued, cannot stay ahead of the rate of deforestation. For example, a farmer will cut and burn a mahogany tree worth $4000 for the purpose of clearing his land for subsistance farming. The land will be useless within three years and he will move on to cut more forest. A massive education program will be needed to change this pattern. Therefore it has been decided by the government and USAID, which is organizing a bilateral project in Guatemala, that the emphasis should be on preventing deforestation.

This bilateral effort, resulting from the realization that health, education, family planning, and natural resource management are closely related, is integrating these areas in new projects which have recently begun. Economic development and conservation will also move in tandem.

The design for this project, covering an area the size of El Salvador in which 60,000 people live, was approved in March 1990 by both the US and Guatemalan government. The area includes 355 bird species alone. The US will provide $10,500,000 and Guatemala,

$7,500,000. Non-government organizations such as the World Wildlife Fund and Audubon Society because of their staying power in the community will also be involved. The enormous growth in public support in Guatemala for environmental concerns will improve the possibility of success. The UNESCO model (Man and the Biosphere) will be used. Environmental areas will include three zones; an inside protective zone with no activity, a middle, multiple use zone, and an outside buffer zone where agroforestry will be encouraged (J. Nakatsuma, personal communication, July 30, 1991).

The project will have three components:

1. Conservation and Income generation.

In addition to natural forest management, extracted reserves will be developed for profit. These projects will be designed in conjunction with the local people and implemented by them with an absence of new technologies not appropriate for the community. These reserves, the harvest of which does not destroy the forest cover, include allspice, rattan, and chiclets. In addition, ecotourism will be encouraged.

2. Research and Investigation
3. Environmental Education

Who should be speaking in Latin America on behalf of the environment now that the earth has reached a frontier of scarcity? Juan Bendfeldt, an economics professor at Francisco Marroquin University in Guatemala City, considers three institutional frameworks that can be used in analyzing the natural environment (1991, personal communication). First, the socialist approach in which nature is considered a common resource. There may be a variety of needs for a common resource such as a stream. No individual or community can be barred from use. A moral standard exists in which nobody overuses or wastes. Second, regulation by public institutions. The state becomes an artificial force to regulate by laws and sanctions. Third, private property in which a group or individual makes a decision that excludes others. The market then allocates the natural resources. Bendfeldt thinks that this is compatible with human nature which is encouraged by successes and restricted by the failure of property rights.

If the record of the Socialist states is analyzed, it is found that the environment has suffered irreparable damage. The Exxon "Valdez" spill leaked less that one-tenth of the amount of the leaks from any particular PEMEX platform. After the Alaska spill in 1989 (11 million gallons of crude oil) there was much public condemnation. In 1978 the Ixtoc I (PEMEX) spilled more than 140 million gallons, contaminating the whole Gulf of Mexico. No condemnation occurred. Exxon is a private company; PEMEX is state owned. In another example, man changes the natural market by subsidizing the price of diesel oil. It is the government which is contaminating the air of Guatemala. When communal property is at stake, nobody takes full responsibility. Then the government steps in and regulates with its power. (Bendfeldt, 1991; Block, 1988).

According to these economists there can be both a natural environment and a free market economy. In fact, property rights and a market economy can protect the environment in that private property incentives lead to creativity.

Have these economists looked carefully at the capitalist example set in North America? Although the national park and forest system is certainly not an example of harmless management, lands have been set aside for future years of enjoyment for the public. In contrast, lands owned privately allow no access by the public. In Hawaii it is a state law that all citizens have access to all beaches below the high water line. In other states where such a law does not exist, only those beaches which the state has set aside are open to the general public.

Private enterprise is devastating the forests and wetlands. It is only public law and enforcement of these laws that prevent the extinction of many animal and plant species which may affect human survival as well as well-being. The owner of private property, does not generally look beyond his or her own profit. It seems that a balance of democratic state management, non-government organizations, private enterprise, and an educated populace provide the only hope of saving what is left of the environment. Will this happen in Mexico and Central America where democracy is new and struggling and few people are educated? The next ten years will tell.

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REPORT ON FULBRIGHT EXPERIENCE IN CENTRAL AMERICAN AND MEXICO--Summer, 1991:

In my proposal for the Fulbright Scholarship, I stated that my primary objective was to extend my research on the short story by collecting volumes of stories for research, once I returned home.

Attached is a bibliography of the story collections and related materials that I collected while abroad. I had difficulty completing my objective (and feel that I only partially succeeded), in that the program of study permitted very little time for me to make the right contacts to collect what I needed (sometimes because of the isolated location of hotels). Secondly, books are very expensive in Mexico and Central America and in many cases simply not available. I finally had to extend my objective to include some fiction and supporting materials relating to Latins in New Mexico, Texas, California, etc. in that these stories deal with my primary research purpose, to explore the rural-urban migration. (An ironic truth that I learned from and English-speaking bookshop owner in Mexico City is that translations and even Spanish-language collections are more readily available here than in Latin America.) Also, I have supplemented my collection from colleagues, friends, and used-book shops since I returned home.

I have not yet begun my research into the materials I have collected. It will be a slow, laborous process, in that I am going to be translating much of the material myself. It may be a year before I have a presentable paper to show for my efforts.

I have made tentative plans to include three stories in a course of study for the spring semester: introduction of literature. I will not be teaching world literature spring semester, so my plans to expand the Latin unit of study will have to await another time.

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Fulbright Seminar: Central America and Mexico
Summer 1991

Slide/Tape Presentation: Urban Society in Mexico

The Mexican urban migration began on a large scale during World War II when thousands of campesinos left their impoverished rural villages in search of the better paying war production jobs in the cities. The number of migrants then increased continually in the decades following the War as a succession of governments tried to add Mexico to the world's growing list of industrialized nations.

During the same period, Mexico also experienced a very high rate of population growth, and millions of additional young men and women joined the exodus from the countryside that could no longer support their swelling numbers. Many towns and cities, particularly Mexico City, have consequently grown at an astonishing, even alarming rate. Even more alarming though has been the lack of planning by the Mexican government for urban growth management and for predictable social problems.

A developing nation that promotes rapid industrialization should first establish procedures and resources that can manage the urbanization problems that usually appear along with the industries. Unfortunately, Mexico did not do this. Mexico City's population in 1940 was about 1.6 million inhabitants. By 1970, the population was 8.3 million, and by 1990 the city had swelled to about 18 million. The governments have been unable to keep up with the exploding demand for such essentials as water, electricity, new roads, and waste removal.

It is the city's impoverished and recently arrived migrants who most often have experienced these shortages. However, a different and equally serious problem, Mexico City's horribly polluted atmosphere, has affected all residents.

1. This panorama of Mexico City shows the dense and extensive air pollution, particularly in the downtown area where the tall buildings that cluster in the heart of the financial district are barely visible. The city pours about 11,000 tons of metals, chemicals, bacteria, and dust into the atmosphere daily. In 1984 the government calculated that motor vehicles caused 75 per cent of the air pollution. Most cars still burned leaded gasoline in 1991 and were not equipped with catalytic converters.

2. A more distant view of Mexico City within its surrounding mountains and countryside reveals an enormous cloud of emissions that is trapped in the Valley of Mexico by the mountains. One of the coordinators from IIE (Institute of International Education) in Mexico City said that her children have a "winter-like" cough all year. A lecturer at ITAM (Instituto Tecnologico Autonomo de Mexico) reported that his children's coughs and related illnesses disappeared when he taught in Los Angeles! for a year, and that they reappeared when he brought the children back to Mexico City.

3. Few Mexican industries had made effective efforts to reduce their air pollution levels by 1991. This power plant northwest of Mexico City steadily pours forth so much smoke that . . . .

4. . . . an enormous cloud of emissions is seen hanging in the atmosphere above from a few miles away at Tula. The sky above was, on this day, cloudless except for these emissions. Mexico has begun to pass laws aimed at pollution control, and a growing number of industries are being required to reduce levels of both air and water pollution within a certain number of years. The government has also increased the number of pollution inspectors in Mexico City from six in 1990 to sixty in 1991. Results so far are mixed however. For years, both the government and industries have withheld environmental information and resisted suggestions for studies of the problems.

5. Some efforts to reduce air pollution by automobiles are also beginning. An official at a transmission factory reported that all new automobiles will be required to burn unleaded gasoline by 1993. Automobile owners are now required to routinely take their cars to inspection centers for emissions testing. The multicolored disc which you see on the wall in the lower right hand corner of this picture indicates that this service station is an inspection center.

6. Each vehicle must display a sticker of this disc. The colored pie-shaped sections on the stickers are punched to show which month the vehicle was inspected. An ITAM lecturer said, however, that so far the inspections have failed to reduce air pollution because acceptable vehicle emission levels are too high and because inspectors often report the levels inaccurately.

7. Mexico City is polluting more than its air. Garbage collection cannot keep up with the 8,000 tons of refuse that the city produces each day. Local residents often have to burn garbage in neighborhood dumps like this one to keep rats and flies away.

8. But hope for cleaner Mexican cities may be on the rise. *International criticism of the Mexican environment is* increasing at a rate that the government cannot ignore forever, and according to one environmental official at ITAM, public opinion is shifting as a growing number of city dwellers opposes economic growth at the expense of the environment. Grass roots organizations are emerging. This member of an ecology club is selling litter bags to motorists who are stopped at a traffic signal.

9. Mexico City has more than doubled in size during the last 20 years, and neither government nor private housing development efforts have been able to keep up with the demand. Migrants have consequently turned to squatting on either public or private land as the only available way to find homes. Much of the farmland that surrounded Mexico City twenty years ago is now covered with sprawling slums. Many of these settlements lack plumbing and paved roads. In this picture a squatter has quickly built a one-room shack made of sheet metal on someone else's land. Although many squatters are evicted by the police, many others are not because there are too many of them for the police to control at one time.

10. Squatting is often a carefully planned group activity involving several families. Some groups arrive during the night with tools and relatively substantial building materials. First they must persuade the authorities to let them stay there, and then they may have to petition the government for years in order to gain piped city water service, closed drains, paved streets, garbage collection, and "legal" electricity.

11. In the meantime they may steal electricity by tapping into established power lines.

12. Soon the new community will have a "settled" appearance complete with a well worn dirt road. The residents must still carry water from a public tap which may be far off, and they must dig latrines and establish garbage dumps. The resulting lack of proper sanitation can breed chronic gastrointestinal and respiratory illnesses.

13. Eventually, if the squatters are not evicted, the community may be legalized by the government and basic services provided. Find the closed drainage system in this picture. How can you tell that many houses are connected to a piped water system? Find the legal electrical wiring. Find the illegal wiring. Which city service is still lacking?

    (Pause at this slide for a minute or two.)

14. Finally, years later, most temporary sheet metal and wooden shacks will be replaced by more permanant concrete buildings that are fully connected to city services. The settlement will be much larger and extremely crowded. It will have an unplanned, sometimes even a chaotic appearance, but it will have achieved the status of a city neighborhood.

15. Of course not all Mexicans are poor migrants. High ranking government officials and business leaders often become quite wealthy, drive expensive automobiles, and live in spacious homes like this one. Mexico City's rich residents do not have to worry that migrants will squat on their land. The rich have considerable influence, or even control, in the government, and the police would immediately remove any family that tried to establish a home on any part of this property.

16. Some wealthy communities are closely guarded and do not even allow uninvited visitors. There is a guardhouse to the left of this entrance to a private neighborhood, and a sign to the right announces that entry beyond this point is restricted.

17. Rapid urbanization, overcrowded slums, and homelessness have brought a sharp increase in crime to Mexico City. Homes of wealthy Mexicans, such as this one, are commonly protected by high walls and barred windows. Pedestrians avoid walking alone at night in many areas, and motorists often keep their car windows raised even on hot days. Small groups of young men try to surround and trap tourists in order to steal their cameras, bags, or purses.

18. These women are two of the thousands of heavily armed guards who are employed by banks and some office buildings in Mexico City. Visitors from the United States are often startled at first, but most Mexicans have become accustomed to passing the muzzles of loaded shotguns and automatic rifles as they walk by on the city sidewalks.

19. Middle class city homes, such as this one, are often tightly secured as well. Notice the security railing on the roof.

20. Mexico's middle class has substantially increased in size during the past few decades, and today about 30 per cent of the nation's population is considered to be middle class. These people are usually business managers or professional workers such as teachers or doctors. Their neighborhoods are often as attractive and well kept as this one in the city of Queretaro. Their streets are usually lined with late model automobiles.

21. Near their homes middle class Mexicans may find attractive streets where they can stroll, dine in restaurants, and shop for luxury items which most Mexicans cannot afford to buy.

22. Fashionably dressed and increasingly well educated, these urbanized Mexicans are confident about their lives and careers.

23. Large modern shopping malls have been built to meet the growing demand for middle class goods and services.

24. Visitors from the United States will find some familiar stores here . . . .

25. . . . and may feel as if they are home again with their cars waiting for them in the large and crowded parking lot outside.

26. The malls are packed with increasing numbers of Mexican consumers who wander among the modern shops and meet friends for lunch, and who can afford to buy the things they need.

27. But at the same time, for even more millions of city residents today, home is still a structure that is made of whatever materials that can be found or bought cheaply, . . .

28. . . . while shopping for consumer goods is often done in inexpensive open street markets like this one.

29. Poorer Mexicans also buy much of their food on the streets. There are modern supermarkets in the cities, but street merchants usually sell food more cheaply at informal markets like this one.

30. Poor people can become pretty creative in overcrowded cities. Some people have found unique places for homes such as this one on top of an eight story office building. This "homesteader" makes the most of his space and raises chickens in the heart of downtown Mexico City.

31. However, there are just not enough homes or spaces for all the people who want to live and work in Mexico City. Many thousands, some observers say hundreds of thousands, of unemployed or underemployed workers can find no affordable home at all and must sleep in abandoned buildings, under bridges, or on the streets. They constantly search for work, frequently taking one temporary job after another.

32. The government is spending billions of pesos on new housing developments in an effort to keep up as much as possible with the population increase. Hundreds of families will receive complete city services in this community when it is completed.

33. Few of Mexico City's migrants will be able to afford such housing though even if the price is reduced by government subsidies. The families that will move into these homes will usually come from homes in other "legitimate" communities, and the adults in these families, unlike many migrants, will already have steady employment.

34. Most planned housing developments and squatter communities are developing on the outskirts of the city where roads and public transportation systems will not adequately accomodate the additional population. As seen here, the government is constructing new roads and bridges at an impressive rate. However, because resources are limited, the locations of these projects are sometimes decided for political reasons rather than according to the greatest needs.

35. This new subway line in Mexico City, for example, was completed just in time to help a member of the ruling political party, the PRI, win re-election as a delegate for this district in the 1991 elections.

36. Construction projects sometimes offer other opportunities for government officials. Serious flooding occurs at several intersections along this busy thoroughfare in the city of Queretaro when rainfall is heavy. When an official at the Queretaro campus of ITESM (Instituto Technologico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey) was asked why drains had not been built at the intersections, he replied that even if drains had been included in the construction plans, the construction company might have found that it was cheaper to bribe the government inspector to ignore the missing drains than to construct them. Even if the official at ITESM was not correct in this case, the fact that he immediately offered this explanation as a possibility appears to indicate that such bribery of government officials does occur.

37. Construction projects do provide thousands of jobs and help to reduce the enormous number of unemployed Mexico City laborers. Many women work as laborers on construction projects. A government economic adviser reported that construction managers prefer female workers for several jobs because they are more reliable and attentive to details than the men. Women comprise about one third of the Mexican work force.

38. Wages for working class Mexicans are generally so low that all able bodied family members, including mothers, must produce income in order to meet the family's basic financial needs. Many working mothers, such as these construction workers, obviously cannot take their children with them to work. So where are the kids while Mom is out building roads?

39. Many of the children are in school for several hours on weekdays. During the past decade, the Mexican government spent a greater percentage of its annual revenue on public education than did the United States government. Children are required to attend school through the sixth grade, and most urban children continue into secondary school. However, public school academic standards are not very high. Student absenteeism is high in several city neighborhoods, and public school teachers are paid so poorly that practically all of them must hold a second job.

40. Most middle class and wealthy Mexican families send their children to private schools such as this one. As the urban middle class has expanded, so has the number of private schools.

41. Ten per cent of Mexico's schools were private in 1980. By 1990, seventeen per cent were private. Although nearly all private schools are in urban areas, their smaller class sizes and more spacious campuses provide a relaxed and uncrowded learning environment.

42. Many private school students also live in an environment which is relatively isolated from that of most Mexicans. They spend less time on the streets than public school kids, and most of their friends are members of their own class. They dress fashionably for school, often in clothing from the United States or Europe. Wealthy and middle class children are more likely to become Mexico's future government and business leaders, and are thus expected to become bilingual. This friendly bunch was sharing copies of Mad magazine and spoke English quite well.

43. Private school students encounter few shortages of books or materials along their educational journey. They are often seen taking field trips to historical and cultural sites around town.

44. After high school, most of Mexico's private school students go on to the rapidly increasing number of private universities that are now found in nearly all Mexican cities.

45. However, most Mexican college students, about two million of them, attend public universities at a cost of little or nothing. Practically any high school graduate who wishes to attend can enroll. Many of those who enroll are not prepared to do university level work, however, and only about 31 per cent eventually graduate. Most graduates immediately enter the work force. Few go on to graduate school.

46. Private universities select qualified students who then must pay tuitions that few Mexicans can afford. There are not many scholarships. Consequently, nearly all private university students are members of the wealthy or middle classes and are graduates of private high schools. Eighty per cent of these students usually graduate from the university, and about 2,000 of them go on each year to graduate schools in the United States. A large number of Mexico's present generation of government and business leaders are graduates of private universities.

47. Public grade schools tend to be located near the poor or working class neighborhoods where their students live. These kids often have only one or two sets of clothing from which to choose each day. Many arrive at school without having had a properly nutritious breakfast. Many attend school irregularly because they must spend days earning money for their families.

48. Urban public schools sometimes have a shortage of playground space and equipment, but not a shortage of fun. This area resounded with friendly chatter and laughter.

49. Teachers sometimes have difficulty concentrating on their work because they are paid less than maids in Mexico City and must work at a second job later each day. Classrooms can be overcrowded and noisy, but these children were lively and eager to please. They and their teacher shared an obvious affection for one another.

50. The Mexican government has made education a priority for the past several decades. In 1990 the average Mexican had completed six years of school, and 89 per cent of the people were literate. Both of these figures are considerably higher than they were just 30 years ago and should continue to rise.

This public notice in the city of Guanajuato illustrates the persistence of both ignorance and the rising level of education in Mexico. When a total solar eclipse approached in the summer of 1991, the government attempted both to warn people against looking at the sun and to calm fears that had been aroused by superstitious rumors. Item Five informs the people of Guanajuato that the eclipse will neither alter pregnancies nor cause deformities in babies. Some visitors joked about the ignorance of Mexicans when the notice was posted. However, thirty years ago half of the citizens of Guanajuato would not have been able to even read the notice. Increasingly, Mexicans are a literate people and are thus also an increasingly informed people.

51. Educational progress is retarded in many city neighbors, however, by poverty. Instead of attending school, thousands of children like these shoeshine boys join the army of underemployed workers on city streets. Underemployed workers are men, women, and children who do not have steady jobs or incomes and who spend their days trying to sell inexpensive things or trying to find people who will give them a little money in return for some service. Impoverished parents often require their children to work the streets during school hours. Desperate families cannot ignore hunger, but they can postpone abstract problems like illiteracy.

52. This enormous daily effort by millions of poor and unskilled urban Mexicans to scratch out a living by buying and selling merchandise and services on the street is called the city's informal economy. They seem to be present on every city sidewalk . . .

53. . . . and at every intersection where vehicles must stop for traffic signals. They go out there each morning, unaware of how much money they will make that day.

54. Some of them establish regular locations for their businesses which they then must guard against intruders.

55. Some of them depend on acts of kindness from a temporary captive audience.

56. A job shortage can result in creativity. Some underemployed workers develop new skills.

57. The informal economy is the heart of an amazingly vibrant street life. Mexicans are very public people who seem compelled to spend as much of each day as possible mixing with the city crowds. It is, in fact, this social custom which makes Mexico's informal economy possible and provides employment for millions of migrants.

58. Not all street merchants are unemployed or unskilled. Many are self-employed craftspeople who bring well-made products to open markets on certain days. These people are also part of the city's informal economy, but they have established homes and workshops.

59. It is not unusual to find entire families involved in an enterprise. Farm children are expected to help produce the crops and then to help to sell them in street markets on weekends.

60. Middle class children in Mexico, as in most countries, do not usually work to help support their families. They have more time for leisure activities and more money to spend on those activities. These middle class children are attending a birthday party at an American owned fast food restaurant in Mexico City. In the United States, customers call these places budget restaurants and eat in them to save money, but nearly all Mexican customers who eat in these restaurants are from the middle class. The prices are far too high for most Mexicans.

61. Middle class mothers are more likely to be found playing with very young children. Most Mexican mothers must work and often must take even their youngest children with them to work.

62. All children everywhere do find some time to play though, even if it is only on Sundays. Poor city children may not have a park or a playground nearby, but they will always find a place to create one.

63. That place is usually in a street.

64. One of the most depressing sights is that of young children who are condemned to remain in one spot all day. These children do not play much. They must go to work with parents who have not been able to find a suitable place for them to spend the day. They are lonely and terribly bored.

65. . . . and they just sit there on the sidewalk trying to invent activities for their minds. Often, like this little boy, they have only one toy. Having been played with exhaustively, it now lies untouched next to him. It would be hard to imagine a worse life for a young child.

66. But it can get worse. This child of one or two years lies asleep on the ground only four feet from a busy downtown street in Mexico City while his mother busies herself selling flowers to motorists who stop at the intersection. He has no toys. He may not move at all. He lies or sits there for hours as vehicle speed by and fill his lungs with highly toxic exhaust fumes.

67. The number of lonely, impoverished children is a national shame.

68. But at least in Mexico, they appear to be in the minority. Even the poorest families usually try to send their children to school as often as possible, and to provide a mentally healthy environment for them at other times. Most families include numerous grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins who quickly take in family children who need help. Families do much to cushion the shocks of daily urban life in Mexico.

69. It is, in fact, families that are the glue of Mexican society, and they are wonderful to watch. On Sundays they affectionately march into churches . . .

70. . . . and then pour out, clearly happy in the company of one another.

71. Hundreds, often thousands, move on to the public plazas or the parks where they share food and laughter for hours.

72. This is the famous Chaputepec Park in Mexico City.

73. It is difficult to become bored here on Sunday afternoon.

74. And difficult to become lonely. A stranger has only to be friendly in order for a family to ask him to join them for lunch.

75. The plazas and parks also reduce the class distinctions that so dominate Mexican life in other places. Middle class families, such as this one, . . .

76. . . . and working class families mix comfortably with one another on Sunday afternoons. Families like this radiate affection.

77. (No comment)

78. And many families clearly enjoy working together.

79. Then there are families that are just too impoverished to find much enjoyment of any kind. Much horror sprawls along Mexican city streets. The government has disgracefully evaded its responsibilities to millions of its citizens.

80. But at the same time those streets also produce a lot of people who manage to make the best of their circumstances and somehow enjoy life anyway.

Mexico and Central America 1991

A Fulbrighter's Journal

by

Jesus Rodriguez

As soon as I returned to the States from Mexico and Central America, I realized that I had to sit back and reflect upon this summer's seminar while the memories were still fresh in my mind. This s a compilation of lecture notes. impressions of people, and accounts of trips from my daily journal. I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to the Department of Education for granting me the opportunity of studying Latin America. I also want to thank all my fellow travellers for making this trip so enjoyable.

MEXICO

Mexico City. July 27, 1991

Yesterday afternoon leaving the airport I had a small taste of Mexico City'straffic, noise and crowded conditions--cars and people everywhere. Of course it was raining as it was the rainy season. As I would soon find out the rain is a blessing not only because it supplies the area with much-needed water to grow a good harvest but also because it washes away the city' pollution.

The cabby that took us to the hotel from the airport was a man in his late forties. We struck a conversation with him right away and in a matter of 20 minutes Gregorio told us his life story. He had come to Mexico City 30 years ago from Zacatecas, where he had worked in the fields. Like the many millions of peasants that have come to Mexico City in the last 30 years, Gregorio came to searching for a better life. After doing many odd jobs, he finally managed to get a job with one of the cab companies about 15 years ago. To the question, "Are you satisfied with your job?", he answered affirmatively. Having heard so much about about the "mordida", the custom of paying the police officers who stop cardrivers for nonexistent traffic infractions, I could not help asking Gregorio what he thought about this feature of Mexican life. To my surprise, he replied that unless he has actually broken the law he does not pay. I found his answer rather unusual and in the days ahead I had many opportunities of asking the same question to other cabdrivers and Mexicans. Their answer was more in agreement with my own experience and that of the average Mexican citizen. In fact, whether you have broken the law or not, most Mexicans will negotiate the price with the police officer and pay the mordida. The mordida is one of Mexico's most peculiar phenomena, and the average citizens have come to accept it as part of their daily life. For one thing, they know how low police salaries are; for another, paying the mordida is the fastest and most efficient way of dealing with the power of the police and government burocrats.

Later that evening we took our first walk through the neighborhood. Watching the crowds was very exciting; most of them were mestizos. Five hundred years after the encounter between the Spaniards and the native Mexican inhabitants Mexico has become, for all intents and purposes a mestizo country. According to official figures, 80% of all Mexicans are of "mixed blood". This is by far one of the most astonishing features about Mexico. I can't think of any other place in the world where such a high degree of mixing has occurred. It also helps explain the lack of racial tensions present in Mexican society since the vast majority are mestizo. However the creole class, that is to say the pure descendants of the Spanish conquistadores, forms a special social and economic class somewhat concerned with maintaining their racial purity and occupying the upper stratum of the society. The small Indian population, about 10% of the total population, still suffers from some discrimination at the hand of the mestizo and creole classes.

Our visit to la Zona Rosa, the most exclusive area in town where the most expensive restaurants are located and the most fashionable people stroll, allowed us to see some of the white Mexicans, which make up about 10% of the population. We had lunch there. My three compañions asked for pasta, a very wise choice considering the cholera scare; however, I asked for "camarones con arroz". Obviously, I was a bit distracted by all the things happening around me and forgot all warnings against eating fish. Luckily I did not get sick. I mentione this because our group coordinators warned us against eating in the streets, drinking the hotel water and eating fruit and raw vegetables. Montezuma's revenge and cholera definitely convinced me that following their advice was a necessary step to survive the trip. And yet, despite all the warnings and precautions taken everybody in the group eventually came down with some sort of intestinal problem. In the end Montezuma was able to take his revenge.

While we were sitting at the restaurant terrace in the Zona Rosa having lunch, a very old Indian woman selling lottery tickets approached our table and warned us against thiefs. Although difficult to understand, I was able to make out some of the things she was saying. Apparently we were not to be fooled by the fact that we were surrounded by well-dressed and rich-looking people because according to her "The rich also steal". I found this phrase extraordinary. As it happens there is a very popular Latin American television soap opera titled "The rich also cry" and I can not help but thinking that she simply changed the verb cry for steal. Since we were in La Zona Rosa her statement sounded somehow beautifully appropriate. It must be remembered that Mexico's income distribution is quite unequal with the upper class enjoying a superb standard of living, a small middle class and more than half of the population under the poverty level.

The visit at the American Embassy promised to be interesting. One has heard so much about American interference in the political affairs of

Latin American countries that we were all looking forward to meeting the ambassador and hearing from him about Mexico. To our surprise we found out that the embassy is the largest American embassy in the world with more than 700 American employees plus several hundred Mexican nationals, which indicates the importance of Mexico to the American government. The security measures to get into the compound were stringent; everybody was checked at the gate by a guard and then again at two more check points with metal detectors. At no point during our visit were we left alone. Before Ambassador Negroponte spoke to us, two of his assistants gave us a quick overview of the Mexican economic and political situation. The Free Trade Agreement being negotiated between Mexico, Canada and the USA was the main topic of their presentation. Interestingly enough, we had to come to Mexico to hear about this important development in US-Mexico economic relations. For some odd reason the American media has paid little attention to this important trade agreement, which will have major economic repercussions in both countries. I will return to the Free Trade Agreement later since this was the most important topic of discussion throughout the entire seminar.

Both officers seemed convinced that the FTA will be signed. President Salinas is pushing very hard for the agreement and as a result, the historical anti-American rhetoric prevalent in the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) has been toned down, a clear indication that the present Mexican administration is very serious about it. According to one of our coordinators "For the first time in a long time it is OK to like America".

Ambassador Negroponte's talk was predictable. He insisted on the new Mexico that is emerging under the Salinas administration. He was pleasant and answered most of the questions raised. Of course, as an official of the Bush administration, he replied according to the official line. Having just arrived in Mexico, the group was not yet ready to probe deeper into his mind as it would be the case in subsequent visits with other American ambassadors.

The Fullbright group was made up of 20 people; all of them teachers from high schools and colleges. They could be characterized as politically liberal and left wing. As a result, all the visits with the local and American officials were lively, though a bit confrontational. My only objection is that the group as a whole had a tendency to blame the USA for all the economic, social and political problems found in Latin America. Although it is true that for more than a hundred years the USA has supported military dictators and in some cases contributed directly to the overthrow of legitimate elected governments in defense of its own economic and political interests, the fact is that most of the problems confronting Latin America today are not solely due to American intervention but to deep historical and cultural factors such as the inability of most Latin American countries to create a sound democratic political system.

Mexico City. June 28, 1991

If we are to believe the economic experts that talked to us yesterday, Mexico is on the verge of a major economic revolution; modernization, privatization and political reform were the key words. At times what is taking place in Mexico was being compared to what is happening in the Soviet Union. Like the Soviet Union, Mexico is governed by a single party which has been in power for the last 70 years and has had a closed economic system. According to the speakers, the second Mexican revolution has started and it will be some time before we see the results. It is going to be an economic revolution that will open up the closed Mexican economy to foreign investors and force Mexican industry to compete with foreign manufacturers.

The success of what could be called the Second Mexican Revolution is still in question despite optimistic predictions of the economic experts, and it promises to be a long and painful process. Yesterday in one of the dailies I read that the official minimum wage amounts to 11,000 pesos ($3.50 per day), which is barely sufficient to pay for a person's meal at an average Mexican restaurant. The article mentioned the impossibility of feeding a family with this money. How the average family manages to buy enough food is a mistery to me. Perhaps they can buy enough corn and vegetables to survive but I doubt very much they can buy meat and other staples. Starvation does not seem to be the problem but it is evident that malnutrition seems to be widespread.

Fortunately some of the economic news is more encouraging. For instance, despite the collapse of the economy in 1982 due mainly to the drop in oil prices followed by several years of negative growth, the annual economic growth has been close to 4% for the last two years. In addition, foreign investment is entering the country in large amounts and almost four billion dollars of Mexican capital has been repatriated, all of which seems to indicate that confidence in Mexico's economic future is high. And yet, this may be not be sufficient to lift most Mexicans out of poverty. In my judgment, the main obstacle to Mexico's modernization is population growth, a factor rarely taken into account by most of the experts. The reason for my reservations lies in the fact that at this rate of growth, Mexico's economy will barely generate jobs for the more than one million people entering the job market every year. At the present time, Mexico's official population is 85 million and it is still growing at an average of 3% annually. The numbers speak for themselves. The government is aware of the problem but it has no clear policy except to ensure that everyone is provided at least a sixth-grade education. Some government studies show that when people attain this level of education, the number of children families have drops dramatically.

Decentralization is the magic word for the education area, in a country where every aspect of the educational system is run by the Federal Government. The stated goal is to allow the states to run their own educational systems, a monumental task in a country where for decades all major decisions have been made by the central government. Even thouhg the federal government has allocated resources to providing a minimum level of education to its citizens, the system suffers from overcrowding, low teacher morale and inefficiency. For instance, the teachers' salaries are so low - the average salary is only about 800,000 pesos a month ($270)- that most of them are forced to take another job. The rural areas suffer the most because teachers prefer to stay in the large cities. In addition, because of the low salaries there is a constant shortage of qualified teachers. It remains to be seen whether the Mexican government has the will and the financial resources to carry out these reforms.

Mexico City, June 28, 1991

Our trip to El Templo Mayor, uncovered a few years near El Zocalo in downtown Mexico City, was fascinating. It is a perfect example of pre-Hispanic construction methods. Only the foundations and part of the structure is still standing (the rest was torn down by the Spaniards to build churches and palaces after the fall of Tenochtitlan in 1521), but the different layers are still clearly visible and give modern visitors a clear idea of the architectural techniques used by the Aztecs. Like their predecessors, the Toltecs, the Mayas and the Olmecs, the Aztecs built pyramid upon pyramid. Traditionally after the crowning of a new ruler a new structure was built on top of the old one. At El Templo Mayor there are six levels, the last one having reached a hightof 150 feet, which gives an idea of the size and magnitude of the pyramid. As I walked around El Templo Mayor's ruins, I tried hard to visualize the Aztec world, a world that in so many ways still remains alien and incomprehensible to me despite all that I have read about it. Somehow, some of that world is still found in the bewildered faces of the multitude of mestizos and Indians walking around El Zocalo.

The Museum located next to El Templo Mayor contains the remains of several hundred artifacts including statues, weaponry and beautiful reliefs. One of the most impressive exhibits is a replica of the old ceremonial center at Tenochtitlan, which gives the visitor an exact idea of what this part of the city looked like before the city was demolished by the Spaniards.

Next to El Templo Mayor is located El Palacio Nacional, which contains the famous Diego Rivera murals, the painter's personal vision of Mexican history from before the Conquest through the Mexican Revolution. Whereas the accuracy of Rivera's vision is questionable, there is no doubt that the murals are impressive. He managed to capture the colorful pre-Hispanic mural painting techniques as well as the Christian ceiling paintings found in many European churches to create a superb work of art. It is definitely a tour de force by one of the most skillful 20th century painters.

Like the pyramids, modern Mexican society is made up of different layers clearly visible in the racial make-up of its people as well as the three different architectural styles present at El Zocalo. From one of the windows of the Museum the three components of modern Mexican civilization can be seen: the remains of the Aztec temple, the colonial churches and palaces built by the Spaniards, and La Torre Latinoamericana, a 45-story building which represents the latest and most modern component. The contrast is somehow awkward and violent.

Mexico City. June 29, 1991

The Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City has the well-deserved fame of being the best of its kind in the world and it certainly lives up to its reputation. In it are gathered at least 70,000 years of Mexican history, from the time the first Asian nomadic tribes crossed the Bering Straits to the destruction of Tenochtitlan by the Spaniards on August 13, 1521. The collection of artifacts dates back to approximately 10,000 BC when first people settled in Mesoamerica.

The Museum is organized unlike anything else in Mexico, where things tend to be a bit chaotic. As you enter the Museum the first room contains artifacts from the first settlers in Central Mexico. As you move from room to room you also move in time though the history of the country. Different stages of development are clearly defined and distinguished. The Teotihuacan civilization, which flourished from 200 BC to 900 AD is by far the most impressive of all exhibits. This is known as the Classical Period, when Mesoamerica achieves its zenith in terms of architecture, sculpture and social organization. For almost 700 years Teotihuacan was the center of Mesoamerica, as its influence on the civilizations that came after clearly demonstrates. The Toltecs and the Aztecs, the two peoples that came to control Mesoamerica after the mysterious fall of Teotihuacan, looked in amazement at their achievements and sought to imitate them. A similar phenomenon occurred in Europe during the Renaissance when the Europeans discovered the wonderful achievements of the Greek and the Roman civilizations.

The Toltecs and the Aztecs were the two most bellicose civilizations of Mesoamerica. Tula, the 10th century Toltec capital 11th century located 50 miles northeast of Mexico City, was a city controlled by warriors. Its architecture and sculpture show their militaristic nature. The serene and classical lines characteristic of Teotihuacan art are replaced by large, terrifying, and violent forms. But Tula will always be remembered in Mexican history because it was in this city, according to mythology where the god-king Quetzaltcoalt, a central figure in Mesoamerican history was born. When he was overthrown he headed east and promised that one day he would return. In 1519 when Hernan Cortes appeared on the Gulf coast, unable to explain the strange physical appearance of the Spaniards, the Aztec thought that Quetzalcoalt had returned.

The Aztec exhibit is by far the largest and the most somber. Like the Toltecs, they worked for the most part on dark volcanic rock which helps give their art the somber and terrifying look associated with Aztec culture. However, it must be kept in mind that, like their predecessors, the Aztecs painted their palaces, temples, and pyramids with bright paints and, therefore, the modern visitor can not really appreciate the actual color and beauty of Aztec architecture. In this regard the replica of Tenochtitlan and the painting of Lake Texcoco which hangs on the wall helps give an idea of the beauty and splendor of the Aztec capital. When one of Cortes'soldiers, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, wrote an account of the Conquest, he failed to find words to describe Tenochtitlan, except to say that it reminded him of one of those fabulous cities described in El Amadis de Gaula. In 1521, when the city was put to siege and systematically destroyed by the Spaniards, Bernal felt sorrow. The besieged Aztecs put up such a couragous resistance that the Spaniards were forced to demolish the entire city. Today the few structures remaining fail to show the grandiosity of Tenochtitlan.

San Miguel de Allende. June 30, 1991

Today we drove to San Miguel de Allende, a typical colonial Spanish town. Except for the mestizo and Indian faces, this town is in many respects like hundreds of cities found in Spain. More than any other feature, its numerous churches speak of its rich Spanish influence. The tower of its main church stands high in the landscape and it can be seen from miles away. The city is beautifully located in the bottom of a valley surrounded by high mountains.

It was Sunday and the churches were filled with people. In the country religion seems to play a significant role peple's lifes. Obviously the Church is one of the few Mexican institutions where the poor can still find some spiritual solace and relief. Since the time of the Conquest the Catholic Church has played a fundamental and positive role, providing millions of people with hope and giving meaning to their existence.

But more than its churches, I found the people to be the most fascinating feature of San Miguel de Allende. A multitude of Indian and mestizo faces crowded the main square, the central streets, and the market place. In Mexico, Sunday is a big day not just because people go to church but also because it is market day when many peasants bring their goods to the towns. It is hard not to get the impression that buying and selling is the Mexican national pasttime; wherever you go there are large or small markets selling all sorts of items. The market was well supplied with all sorts of agricultural products except for meat products, probably due to the fact that meat is a luxury item that very few people can afford. Also noticeable is the lack of any fish shops, which means that fish is either too expensive or not a very popular food. But the lack of meat, fish and dairy products is made up by the large variety and abundance of fresh fruits and vegetables, the two most basic and important ingredients of the average Mexican diet. The only meat product found in this market was chicken, which is cheap enough to be affordable for most people. Generally speaking, the people seem to be well fed, although much smaller in size than the average American.

Like Spaniards, Mexicans spend a lot of time in the streets but unlike them, they are not as loud or as talkative. Most dress well; the men wear jeans, white shirts and cowboy boots and hats. Except for a few women wearing Indian dresses, most women wear Western clothes. The most fashionable ones, usually of Spanish descent, wear the fanciest and most expensive clothes.

The plaza is definitely the meeting place for people not just in Mexico but in the rest of the Spanish world. People sit, walk around, eat at the numerous food stands or gather around the "pergola" to hear the musical band. Being from Spain, I was struck by the lyrics of one of the songs the band was singing. It was definitely anti-Spanish in content. It talked about how the "gachupines" (the pejorative nickname given to Spaniards by Mexicans) had come to Mexico and taken everything from them except for the air, which shows the resentment against Spaniards still present in the average Mexican mind.

Queretaro. July 2, 1991

Clemente Jacques is a vegetable canning factory located right outside Queretaro. About 700 people work there including administrators, technicians, supervisors and permanent and temporary workers. The manager of the factory, a white Mexican, perfectly bilingual and in his early thirties, gave the group a detailed presentation of the factory's history and its present situation. The plant was founded during the Porfiriato by Clemente Jacques, a French businessman, and it is actually owned by an European conglomerate, although the management and the workers are all Mexican.

Although I am not an expert, I was struck by the operation; the canning machines were old and inefficient and there seemed to be many of workers everywhere. The abundance of cheap labor in Mexico is probably a deterrent against modernization. Another problem is the obvious lack of capital. One hopes that there are some plans to buy new machines and to enlarge the operation.

What I really found fascinating about this factory was the racial composition of the people working there. The manager, of Spanish descent, spoke perfect English and had graduated from A&M Texas University. The office and lab workers were either white or mestizos of very light complexion and the people working on the line were very dark mestizos. Whether this is accidental or intentional I cannot say. But in Mexico, like in the States, the fact is that the whiter you are the greater your chances are of being part of the economic and political elite. There are historical reasons that explain this state of affairs. When the Spaniards came to Mexico they became the lords of the land and to this day they still remain on top of the social structure. Today the Spanish segment of the population enjoys by far the highest standard of living, whereas Indians occupy the lowest stratum of Mexican society. The mestizos, which constitute 80% of the population, can be found at all levels but mostly they are part of the lower and middle classes.

RAUL CARDENAS

Raul Cardenas, one of the professors at ITESM, a private university at Queretaro, gave a talk about the history of Industrial Development in Mexico. His talk was not very informative and somewhat incoherent; he did not have many statistics and relied mostly on his memory and ample knowledge. But what he lacked in organization he more than made up for with personal insights. Unlike his American colleague, who in the morning gave a very dry and technical presentation full of figures about the Free Trade Agreement, Mr. Cardenas was very personal and candid, and far more interesting. To begin with, even though the talk was supposed to be about Industrial Development, he brought into the picture all sorts of social, historical, and political factors to explain the failures and successes of Mexican industry. The contrast between Joel Nicholson, an American professor from the University of Chicago, and Raul Cardenas was in many ways illustrative of some of the basic differences between America and Mexico. Cardenas came across as being more spontaneous, more personal, and definitely more extemporaneous. Prof. Nicholson, on the other hand, gave us plenty of facts and theory but no personal insights. In the end, we all felt that Cardenas offered a more realistic picture of Mexican reality. Americans love to measure everything as if reality were something than can be understood by attaching numbers to it. They are so convinced that this is the only and best way of understanding reality that they rarely rely on their own personal experience to explain reality. Mexicans and Latins, on the other hand, rely more on their personal experience than on the opinion of experts.

Mr. Cardenas was highly critical of the PRI and generally pessimistic about Mexico's new industrial revolution. His main concern was the high rate of population growth. He simply did not see how Mexico was going to create enough jobs for the millions of people entering the labor market in the coming years.

EL CONVENTO DE SANTA CRUZ

In the afternoon we visited El Convento de Santa Cruz, a religious landmark in Queretaro. I was not impressed by the building; it was rather conventional and similar to the religious architecture found in Spain, but by the hundreds of people gathered outside the church and the square. Soon we found out that a procession was going to take La Virgencita from the Convento to another church. Coming from a Spanish Catholic background, the celebration did not hold my attention. Instead I concentrated on the crowd, which impressed me for its religious faith and fervor, unlike anything I have seen in Spain for a long time. As I would have a chance to verify many times throughout my journey, religion is still very much a part of Mexican society, especially among the poor, which makes up the majority of the population. In this respect, the tremendous impact of the evangelization process carried out by the Spanish friars is obvious. Wherever the Spanish friars went the built churches and converted the natives to Christianity, one of the most significant legacies of Spain to the New World. Interestingly enough, there is today another evangelization process going on, but this time is being carried out by American Evangelist groups. Their impact is already being felt in many parts of Mexico and Central America, but particularly in Guatemala where they have managed to attract about 30% of the population.

DOWNTOWN QUERETARO

Queretaro, a semi-industrialized and somewhat prosperous city with a rich colonial past, is in the process of undergoing a major industrial revolution. According to our informants, the Mexican Federal Government has chosen Queretaro as one of the designated areas to become a major industrial center. Apparently the Government is finally serious about developing other areas of the country in a effort to stop the monstrous growth of Mexico City where 30% of all the economic activity takes place at the present time.

Queretaro has no skyscrapers or tall apartment buildings; most of the houses are two- or three-story structures. The most conspicuous buildings are, of course, the numerous churches. Although historical and old, I did not find Queretaro's architecture particularly interesting. As usual I found the people in the streets more interesting. Most of them seem to be of mestizo background and can be seen everywhere, especially in the downtown and surrounding areas. Noticeable is the absence of outdoor cafes and bars. Some beggars, mostly old women and young children, try to collect some money from the passers-by. The commercial activity is great; there are literally hundreds of small shops, stores and garages. As a whole, they offer a large variety of goods. But most of the stores are very small in size. The multitude of street vendors is remarkable; they sell tortillas, tacos, ice cream, tobacco products and many other goods. Small volume and very low profits; this is just survival economic activity. Considering the income available to the average Mexican ($2,000 a year), most items in the stores are simply too expensive to purchase. Prices seem to between 60 to 100% of American prices, which does not mean that people in Queretaro are starving or that poverty is endemic. The majority of the people seem to be well fed and well dressed.

"All you wanted to know about Queretaro but were afraid to ask"

"Todo lo que queria saber sobre Queretaro pero tenia miedo de preguntar" (All I wanted to know about Queretaro but was afraid to ask), was the title of the play I saw last night. It was very pleasant surprise since it gave me the opportunity to see how the Queretanos view themselves and their own history. The play was a funny and parodical look at the history of the city from before the time of the Aztec Empire to present day Queretaro. It consisted of five parts: the pre-Colombian past, the Conquest and Evangelization, the Colony, the French intervention and Porfiriato, and the Chilango invasion. It was a very witty and hilarious look at their past, and all groups were parodied without mercy. Throughout the play there were constant references to actual people from Queretaro. Except for us, the rest of the audience was made up of Queretanos and, judging from their reaction, they seemed to enjoy the play enormously. The two skits that I enjoyed the most were the ones dealing with the arrival of the Spaniards in the 16th century and the "Chilango Invasion", which makes fun of the inhabitants of Mexico City coming to Queretaro to modernize it. Like New Yorkers, the Chilangos are portrayed as being loud, aggressive, and highly inconsiderate of the traditional and polite ways of life in this provincial Mexican city. Obviously, the Queretanos dislike their bad manners and are a bit resentful of their high-pressure businesses deals.

Mexico City. ITAM

For the next ten days we will be attending ITAM, the Instituto Tecnologico Autonomo de Mexico. ITAM is one of the few private universities in the country. The building was built a few years ago and the facilities are modern and up to date. In the economics department most of the teachers are bilingual and hold graduate degrees from American universities. Being a private institution, tuition is very expensive and only the children of the upper class can afford to attend. The Salinas administration is trying very hard to decentralize higher education in the country and to show his support for the private education sector he came to this campus a few months ago to inaugurate a new building.

Our first speaker was Ricardo Samaniego, head of the Economics Department, presently working on his Ph.D. in Economics at the University of Chicago. In his mid-thirties, he is representative of the new breed of American trained technocrats trying to lead Mexico's leap into the 21st century. His presentation was typical of a doctoral candidate at any American university. His discourse was economics and nothing but economics. It was rather dull. By comparison, Raul Cardenas from the old school, was more candid, articulate, critical and far more interesting. Mr. Cardenas has enough experience to have seen it all and has therefore reached a degree of maturity and sophistication to take the latest economic approach with a grain of salt.

The key words of Mr. Samaniego's presentation were privatization and deregulation. According to him, in order for Mexico to grow, it must privatize all state-owned industries and deregulate all economic activity; that is, eliminate all the government regulations that interfere with and slow down trade and production. In the area of privatization Mexico has already made some progress with more than two thirds of the state-owned industries having been privatized in the last five years. In addition, Mexico must also curtail the powerful labor unions. As an example, he mentioned the breakdown of the union which operated the Veracruz harbor. Now the harbor operations are in the hands of the private sector and will therefore be run efficiently, according to Mr. Samaniego. There is not doubt that the economic reforms undertaken by the Mexican government in the last few years have raised industrial production and improve efficiency. The question, however, is how is this going to affect the average citizen? How is the new wealth being created going to reach the vast numbers of poor Mexicans? These are important questions because the government finally has a balanced budget, which it achieved by eliminating subsidies and reducing social security monies that offered a minimum degree of protection to millions of Mexicans. Unfortunately, this question remained unanswered throughout the entire seminar. The expectation is that somehow all this new wealth will magically trickle down to the poor. But there is sufficient evidence to be a bit skeptical, especially when one considers that this theory was already applied during the Reagan administration, which resulted in the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer.

Juan Carlos Belanteguigoitia

Mr. Belanteguigoitia, our next speaker, graduated in Economics from the University of Essex in England. His presentation dealt with urban and industrial pollution controls. The topic was very interesting, but his presentation was too long and too abstract to follow. It was too theoretical with very few references to reality. His main point was that incentives must created to encourage industry to be more careful about the environment. Since he offered no specific recommendations, I have no idea how his plan is actually going to work. However, in this regard I remain highly skeptical. Even though Mexico might have the desire to control pollution, I doubt that there is the political will to do much about it, given the many other serious problems the country faces, such as feeding its large population and creating jobs for the more than the one million people entering the labor market every year. And yet there is some hope that with the Free Trade Agreement being signed with the US, Mexico might be forced to take some steps to correct this problem.

Mexico City' growth

It is impossible not to be overwhelmed by Mexico City's size and growth. One can't help wondering how it all happened; that is to say, how does a city's population grow from 3 million in the early 1950's to the 20 million in 1991. With almost one quarter of the Mexican population living in it, Mexico City is like an octopus with long tentacles reaching out and sucking in the wealth of the rest of the country. Mexico City has grown uncontrollably for the last 35 years and it is still growing. Even today, hundreds of thousands of people are still moving into the city in search of a better job and a better life. To the millions of rural Mexicans leading dull and traditional lives, this city is an irresistible magnet which offers excitement and opportunities, especially to the poor and the young. In this regard, our afternoon visit to the squatters' sites located on the mountain slopes surrounding Mexico City was very telling of the hardships these people are willing to undergo in order to settle in the city. Literally thousands of squatters are staking small areas on the hills and building "homes" with whatever materials they can find. Eventually these areas grow into communities that require services at which point the city brings electricity and water and grants their residents title to the land. In some exceptional cases, when the squatters have settled in the so-called ecologically protected areas, the army has intervened to force them out.

Although the migration of millions of people from the rural areas to the cities is a worldwide phenomenon, one has to wonder what economic and political decisions must be made to create such a monster of a city. Mr. Belanteguigoitia answered some of these questions for us. In the first place, it must be kept in mind that most of Mexico's industrial production is located in its three largest cities: Mexico City, Monterrey and Guadalajara. In the second place, Mexico City is the site of the Federal Government, a highly centralized institution with enormous economic resources. For many years the Federal government has subsidized the city services providing its inhabitants with cheap access to transportation and education. Today in Mexico City a ride in the subway costs 500 pesos or the equivalent of 18 cents in American dollars. The government lowered the real cost of living in these cities, especially in Mexico City, which benefited most from these policies. All these services made economic investment quite attractive to national and multinational industrialists who built hundreds of factories in the Mexico City area.

Vilma Gonzalez

Vilma Gonzalez, assistant to the Director of Urban Development of the Federal District, gave a talk about environmental problems confronting Mexico City. According to her, the problems are overwhelming but as a true chilanga who loves her city she remains hopeful and optimistic about the future. She started by mentioning the ecological impact of the Conquest in the area. Tenochtitlan, built in the middle of the Texcoco Lake, was an ecologically sound city in harmony with its natural surroundings. After its destruction by the Spaniards in 1521, the construction of what would be called Mexico City begun. As the city expanded, the Spaniards gradually drained the beautiful lake. Today only a small portion of the lake remains.

With the Revolution, the centralization process intensified and the city grew as more people and more industry moved in. Today there are 42,000 polluting industries in the area and 2,500.000 cars, whose ecological impact is plainly visible in the city's air, one of the worst in the world. According to her best estimates, approximately 700,000 people are added to the city's population every year. Many of these settle on the slopes of the hills surrounding the valley, where they build their shacks, eventually forming communities. As one drives out of the city, the effects of all these people moving into the city are plainly visible; the hills have been stripped of all their vegetation and replaced by small houses and streets. In the last fifty years the city's population growth has been astonishing. In 1940, there were 1,700,000 residents, by 1980 it had increased to 13,500,000. Today's official number is 17,000,000. which is a very low estimate of the city's actual population. The actual number of people living in the city is hard to determine, but some experts believe it could be as high as 23,000,000. If current growth is not stopped, the city's population could reach the 30,000,000 figure by the year 2000.

Vilma Gonzalez was one of the most interesting chilangas we met. She was very candid, personable and hospitable. She personified for me the Mexican professional woman. Trained as a lower, she is married and has a five-year-old child. One day she hopes to become the mayor of Mexico City. which would not surprise me considering her outgoing personality, her self-assurance and her intelligence. She works downtown in the smog, as she put it, and lives 10 miles outside the city. The house, protected by a high wall, is small with a garden and is beautifully located on a high plateau on the mountains of the valley of Mexico. From this location, it is hard to believe that the largest metropolis in the world is barely 10 miles away. She was not ashamed to admit that she's got the best of the two worlds; that is, she works downtown but lives in the country, away from the noise, the smog and the crime of the city. Her salary is the equivalent of $2000 a month, which is very high for Mexican standards. Her husband is also a high-paid professional and their combined income allows them to have, besides a beautiful house in the country, two cars and two servants.

As assistant to the Director of Urban Development, Vilma knows Mexico City inside out. The tour she gave us of the city was extremely educational. First we visited a "ciudad perdida", that is the local name for the many emerging slums that appear practically overnight on the outskirts of the city. These slums are built by thousands and thousands of poor Mexicans who move into the city every year. Located on one of the mountain slopes of the volley, the slum we visited was made up of shacks built with timber and old pieces of wood. No electrical lines or running water pipes were visible anywhere. Vilma told us that these shacks are eventually replaced by small houses which the people themselves build with better and more durable construction materials. At this point the city brings in electricity and running water, and paves the streets. Thus another community is born and becomes part of the city. For the last several years selected area have been set aside as ecological zones; but there are still many unprotected areas being converted to "ciudades perdidas".

Later we visited one of the reserved ecological zones. Most of these zones are left in their natural state but this one was surrounded by a fence and with one hundred beautiful houses, each worth approximately $2,000,000, built inside. One of the guards that accompanied the group told us that on the average there are ten servants per house. It was also Vilma's first visit to this compound and she was as curious as the rest of us about the residents, so she kept asking the guard about the people who lived in these houses. From her facial expression and her comments it was obvious that most of its residents are some of the richest and most powerful people in the Valley of Mexico.

The contrast between the very rich and the very poor became quite explicit and rather disturbing since we visited one site immediately after the other. However, the disparity between the rich and the poor so apparent in these two sites is also evident in the streets of the city, where it is possible to see the haves and the have-nots passing one another in the streets. This disparity is very conspicuous in places like the Zona Rosa, where the rich and fashionable can be seen walking or dining on the sidewalk cafes and restaurants while old women and children are begging nearby.

In between the upper and the lower classes, there is a large mass of people--factory workers, burocrats, office workers, street vendors and small business owners--that make up the majority of the city's population. These middle and lower middle classes, unlike the poor, who barely manage to survive doing all sorts of odd jobs, have some job security, a steady income, and decent standard of living for Mexican standards.

The ejido

As in most countries, the land is either in private or public hands. In Mexico, however, because of its unique history, some of the land is communal; it is owned and exploited by a village or community of peasants. The ejido system goes back to 1536 when the Spanish Crown, in an effort to protect the existing Indian communities,granted them the right to own their land. Some of these ejidos survived the Spanish colonial system and many more others were created during the Mexican Revolution. In 1910 Emiliano Zapata and other peasant leaders rose against the government to defend the existing ejido system. After the Revolution, all of the ejido communities were given the right to continue exploiting their land and many more ejidos were created throughout the country.

Some of the ejidos are located right outside Mexico City The ejido we visited had an area of 10,000 hectares and a population of 25,000 people. During our visit, an official ceremony was being held to inaugurate the construction of a silo. The ejidatarios present at the ceremony were very happy because now they would have a place to store grain until it could be sold a at good price. Until now they were forced to sell it right away after it was harvested because they had no place to store it. This ejido grows corn and raises cattle. Coming from a peasant background myself, I could tell right away that this ejido was very inefficient, poorly managed and unable to provide a good living for the community. Because of its proximity to Mexico City, this ejido has tremendous economic potential. Located just half an hour away from the largest market in the world, with some investment, sound technical advise and better management, this ejido could in a few years time increase tenfold its production of meat and corn. Unfortunately it is run by people with no technical or marketing skills and it barely supports itself.

According to Mexican economists, communal lands are in part responsible for the fact that today Mexico has to import food to feed its people. Compared to large private agricultural corporations, they are extremely inefficient and, as a result, the Salinas administration will start to dismantle the ejido sytem before he finishes his term in office. It is not going to be easy to carry out this policy because of the understandable attachment of the peasants to the land. But in order for Mexico to feed its growing population, it will have to be done sooner or later. Salinas and his technocrats probably have the will to carry out this policy, but the question remains whether the PRI has the courage and the desire to do it considering the high political price it will have to pay.

Pollution Control:

Professor Juan Carlos Belanteguigoitia has been running this part of the program in Mexico City. As his last name indicates, he is of Basque background. His parents came from Spain right after the Spanish Civil War when thousands of Spanish refuges were forced to leave the country. The "republicanos", a highly educated and professional group, assimilated to Mexican society and today they and their descendents occupy important posts in industry and academia. A kind and patient person, he has given several talks on the Mexican economy. Unfortunately, his talks tended to deal with abstractions and economic theories that were simply too dry and boring for the group, whose background in Economics is that of any normal educated person. His talk on pollution control was a good example of the type of lectures he gave. His main point was that in order for pollution controls to work, the Government must not only enforce the law but offer economic incentives to the polluters. We will have to wait and see whether this approach can be put into effect. Although it is true that the Free Trade Agreement with the USA and Canada will force the Mexican government to take some action in this area, pollution is only a minor problem compared to the other many serious and urgent problems that need to be dealt with. Before anything is done in this area, Mexico will have sto modernize and raise its people' s standard of living

Juan Carlos is optimistic about the future. He is convinced that the economic reforms put into effect by the Salinas' administration are working. He refers to Salinas as a "despota ilustrado" (enlightened despot) who will modernize Mexico's economy, open up the political system and launch his country into the 21st century. Having realized that a period of Mexican history has come to an end, a 70 year period of stability and sporadic economic growth which stopped abruptly in 1981, Salinas and his technocrats firmly believe that the answer to Mexico's problems lies in the Free Trade Agreement and the creation of a true free enterprise system. Juan Carlos and his colleagues make it sound as if the Mexican Revolution is finally over and with it the power of the PRI, which for 70 years has controlled this country.

The history of economic development in Mexico

On the way to Tula, Felix Velez, who holds a Masters' degree in Economics from Princeton University, gave a lecture on the history of Industrial Development in Mexico. A very animated and funny fellow, 30 years old, Professor Velez claimed that Mexico's industrial base really started under the regime of Porfirio Diaz. This is a somewhat distressing interpretation that runs against the official view, according to which nothing positive took place under Porfirio Diaz' long dictatorship. But the fact is that under Porfiriato, large sums of foreign investment allowed the development of the infrastructure which launched Mexico into the 20th century. The beer and textile industries, mining and the railroads were created and economic growth during this period was one of the highest in Mexican history. What Mr. Velez did not mention is that only a few sectors of society benefited from all this prosperity and that the majority of the population remained as poor as before. The Mexican Revolution, which lasted for ten years (1910 - 1920), put an end to it and economic growth did not resume until General Obregon took power in the 1920's.

As the rest of the world, Mexico industrial development came to a halt during the Depression. It was not until World War II, that industrial production took off again to supply all sorts of manufactured goods to the USA. During the next 25 years, the import-substitution policy instituted by the PRI as a means to stimulate domestic production and protect it from foreign competition achieved its goals, and Mexico experienced a 6% annual economic growth. Even though it had become obvious by the late sixties that protectionism and the import-substitution approach had become too inefficient, the Echevarria administration, did not change course. The huge oil reserves discovered in the mid 1970's allowed Mexico to weather the storm by continuing subsidizing prices. Feeling confident that the high oil prices would never come down, the Mexican Government started borrowing large amounts of cash. So much money was borrowed that in 1981 when President Lopez Portillo left office, Mexico's foreign debt amounted to $100 billion. This debt was manageable as long as the price of oil was high, but the unexpected happened when the bottom fell out of the oil market and Mexico found itself without the cash to finance its astronomical foreign debt.

The 1981 collapse of the Mexican economy, caused by the drop in the price of oil, brought about one of the most serious and lasting recessions that Mexico has experienced in its history. The eighties has been named the "lost decade", a decade of foreign debt payments, fiscal deficits, hyperinflation and huge capital outflow. People had lost confidence in the Mexican economy and the Government's inability to deal with the crisis. Lopez Portillo' successor, President De la Madrid (1982-1988), had to deal with the crisis and real economic reforms were initiated under his administration; some strong austerity measures were taken as well as some deregulation. Under his administration the privatization process was started and he managed to privatize more than half of all public firms. When President Salinas took office in 1989 he continued and intensified his predecessor's policies. As a result, the Mexican economy has experienced a 4% growth in the last two years.

The solar eclipse at Tula

Not very often in one's life is one in the right place at the right time. July 11th was the day that we had all been waiting for--the solar eclipse was scheduled to start around 11:30 am. From the time it startet at 11:30 until it was over, the eclipse lasted for five hours. The total eclipse lasted about six minutes. The group was understandably very anxious about the weather. Since we arrived to Mexico, it had been cloudy and rainy every single afternoon and the forecast for July 11 was not different. For this unique show, we went to Tula, the capital city of the Toltecs, built in the 10th century on a plateau an hour northeast of Mexico City.

The bus arrived to Tula at 10 o clock in the morning and for the next three hours we waited impatiently for the moon to cross the path of the sun. Waiting was exciting. The setting for the eclipse could not have more perfect. Of all the pre-Colombian cities in Mesoamerica, Tula is by far one of the least spectacular but it was magnificent enough for the occasion. Since there was plenty of time to kill until the eclipse started, I walked among the ruins trying to imagine the splendor of this city when it was the capital of the Toltec empire.

The partial eclipse started at 11:30 and it could be seen by looking directly at the sun or through a special filter provided by the group's coordinator. During this phase of the eclipse the light's intensity did not appear to diminish. It was not until fifteen minutes before it became total that the light started changing from bright white to soft yellow and then to dark yellow when the sun disappear behind the moon. For the next six minutes the day had turned into a dark yellow night. The sun's corona was perfectly visible and some starts shined. At this point I thought about what our ancestors, thousands of years ago, must have felt whenever a solar eclipse occurred, considering their scarce knowledge about astronomy. It is no accident that the sun became for so many cultures throughout the world their main object of adoration.

The Mexican Financial System

Javier Gabito, who holds an MBA from Tulane University, gave a talk about the Mexican financial system. As most of the other speakers he was in his mid-thirties and bilingual.

Like all other public industries, the public banks are also being privatized. So far only three out of eighteen banks have been sold, which seems to indicate that the private sector is somewhat reluctant to take over this sector of the industry. Professor Gabito told us that in order for Mexico to grow 6% annually, it has to find the capital to finance it. There are only two sources where the capital can be found: domestic savings and foreign investment. During the 1980's growth was impossible not only because most of the capital was used to pay for the foreign debt, but also because inflation was too high and Mexicans were taking billions of dollars out of the country.

Once privatized, the banking industry will become more productive, since only the most efficient banks will survive the competition. Although Mexicans are afraid of competing with American banks, they still have a few years before that happens, due to the serious crisis facing the American banking industry at the present time. One way to make bank services available to more people is by "microbranching", that is by opening small branches with comfortable settings, so that the small saver can feel comfortable and welcome. Microbranching, according to Professor Gabito, has been a tremendous success in Spain, where thousands of "cajas de ahorros" (small banks) have been set up to serve the small consumer.

Interestingly enough, just a few days ago I was reading in El Pais, the largest Spanish newspaper, that there are too many "cajas de ahorro" and that many of them are going to have to disappear if the Spanish banking system is to compete successfully in the European banking market.

Anti-American sentiment. July 14, 1991

It is not easy to talk about Mexicans' reactions towards Americans. Historically there has been conflict between the two countries. Most Mexicans, for example, have not forgotten that in the war of 1848, the USA took half of Mexicos's territory. Undoubtedly it is problematic for Mexico to share borders with the richest and most powerful country in the world. If nothing else, it makes Mexicans painfully aware of all the shortcomings in their political, economic and social systems. Driving through Mexico for six weeks in 1978 with a group of three Americans made me aware of the fascination of the average Mexican with USA. Many of the people we encountered, mostly from the lower classes, could not hide their admiration for the USA. Some even asked for advice and help on how to get a job in this country. There is a saying in Mexico which summarizes their feelings towards the USA: "So close to God and so far from the USA".

By and large, the Mexicans we came in contact with were polite to us, although a bit reserved. They did not express any anti-American feelings except on a single occasion. Yesterday a group of us were dining outside, at one the terraces set up on one of the sidewalks in the Zona Rosa. Aside from a small number of vendors trying to sell their goods, most of the people around us were members of the "rich and beautiful" class found in any city of the world--mostly young and middle aged, fashionably dressed and sophisticated. Sitting next to our table there was a young couple in their twenties that attracted the group's attention. The man was talking on his portable phone and jotting down some information. The young woman was a beautiful blonde with blue eyes. Even though our tables were only three feet away, I could not hear the conversation, but they were speaking in Spanish. What struck the group about this couple was the amazing contrast between them and the average Mexican that one sees in the street. It was obvious from their appearance and behavior that they were members of the Mexican elite. While we were all wondering about the interesting couple sitting next to us, a "tuna" (a musical group made up of university students) appeared in our street. Herminio, an Italo-American quite knowledgeable about Spanish culture, and I explained the Spanish origin of the tuna and how, even today, there are tuna groups in most Spanish university campuses. The songs they were playing were quite familiar to me, although the lyrics were a bit different. Herminio was not very impressed with their musical ability and in a very loud voice made the following comment in English "These people are awful. I've heard better in Spain and Italy". At that point, the blonde woman, who had obviously been paying close attention to our conversation, turned around and looking him straight in the eye said in perfect English, "I hate Americans. I have travelled all over Europe and never found people more arrogant and impolite than you. You know, if you don't like it you can either shut up or go back to America". Her tone of voice was hard and her face was full of rage. We were all stunned by her response but fortunately no one said anything, despite the fact that some of the people in the group could barely control themselves. Somehow, we all realized that Herminio's comment was the cause of her reaction and that it was better to let it go. Aside from this single incident I experienced no other case of anti-Americanism during our entire trip.

Street sellers everywhere

By far the most striking feature about Mexico is the number of people working in the streets. No matter where you go, even if you go high into the mountains, you are bound to encounter sellers. Some are stationary, others walk around carrying their wares. One is tempted to believe that stores are non-existent, but that is not the case; stores and supermarkets seem to be as plentiful as in the States. I couldn't help wondering whom all these people were selling to. The sellers try to sell their goods in the streets, the subway and even in the middle of traffic. Some of them are strategically located by traffic lights and make their move while the light is red. They sell flowers, sodas, food, chewing gum, cigarettes, and many other products. Some even try to wash your car windshield hoping to get a tip for the service. Dancers dressed in colorful Aztec clothes and jugglers are the most entertaining; the fire-eaters are the most spectacular but at the same time the most painful to watch, especially when one considers what the harm gasoline is doing to their lungs. Several times I saw a few lying exhausted on the sidewalk. One can't help wondering about the hardships all these people must endure and the economic system that forces them to make a living in the streets.

Overview of the Mexican Economy by Manuel Sanchez

After World War II, the Mexican economy experienced a 6% annual growth until 1970. In the seventies, the Government introduced populist policies and as a result,by 1980 it had accumulated a huge foreign debt, a large fiscal deficit, hyperinflation and capital outflow. Under de la Madrid administration (1982-1988) some structural changes began to take place which Carlos Salinas has continued.

The following policies have been applied to the economy: fiscal discipline, liberalization of trade, privatization, deregulation and the modernization of the financial system. All of this has resulted in economic growth, foreign investment, the return of Mexican capital, and the lowering of the inflation rate. Trade liberalization has lowered import tariffs and eliminated most restrictions on import products. The outcome of this policy has resulted in large trade deficits during the last three years.

Mexican exports:

> Petroleum (32%); Cars (10%); Car-parts (6.5%); Agro-products (4%); Iron (3%); Metals (2.5%); Engines (2%); Gas (2%); Textiles (1%); Coffee (1%).

Mexican imports:

> Factory parts (9%); Machines (6%); Corn and beans (5%); Radio equipment (4%); Engines (4%); Sugar and milk (3.3%).

Of all Mexican exports, 63% go to the USA; 16.7% to the European Community; 7% to Japan and 2.6% to Latin America. The composition of Mexico's exports are the following: 37.7% are petroleum products; 8.1% agro-products, and 51.9% manufactured products. Exports are growing at an annual rate of 2%. Imports come from the following countries: USA (66.5%); EC 11.5% and Japan 6.3%. A major development in the trade area has been the 20% increase in the import of consumer goods.

The improvement in the economy can also be appreciated in the following areas: International reserves were 10.3 billion in 1990; a higher rate of domestic saving and a 50% reduction in the interest rate. Foreign capital is increasing due to the good outlook of the economy, cheap labor and the Free Trade Agreement, which will give foreign companies access to the USA market.

The Mexican Political System by Leopoldo Gomez

The Mexican revolutionary lasted from 1910 to 1940. During this 30-year period, the groups that controlled the country, (large landowners, foreign investors, the church, and the military) went into the background.

Whereas, other groups, mainly the peasants and the lower classes, came on the forefront. Despite all the abuses and corruption there has always been a democratic tendency throughout the country's history, and elections were always held. Even during the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship, the General felt the need to go along with the constitution and held elections periodically.

The most important result of the Revolution was the emergence of the PRI. Its origins go back to 1929 with the the creation of the PRN, (Partido Revolucionario Nacional), which Cardenas renamed and reorganized into the PRM (Partido Revolucionario Mexicano). Cardenas fought for labor rights, land reform, and the nationalization of the oil industry, a momentous event in Mexican history for which Cardenas is remembered. By 1946 the PRI finally emerged in its present form.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of the Revolution was the neutralization of the army. President Obregon started the process by implementing a retirement plan, giving the officers haciendas. and making it more professional. By 1940 the army had been neutralized and stopped being a threat to the new political system run by the PRI. This is no small achievement for a former Spanish colony where the army has been calling the shots since independence. Today Mexico has the smallest and the worst equipped army in Latin America. According to Professor Gomez, the main reason for the army's lack of intervention in Mexican politics has been the stability and the order brought about by the PRI.

1940-1970 was a period of institutionalization and consolidation of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional. The PRI created the conditions for rapid economic growth from which the rich and the landowners benefited greatly. Economic growth was impressive throughout this period but there was an increase in economic inequality as well a polarization of income as the following table shows:

1969 Income Distribution

% ofPopulation	% of Wealth
20%	64%
30%	21%
30%	11%
20%	4%

By 1968 large student demonstrations took place to protest the grave social problems confronting Mexico. Not accustomed to having its power challenged, the government overreacted and in September of that year in Mexico City, the Plaza de Tlatelolco massacre took place. This event shook the entire country but especially the PRI. When Echevarria took power in 1970 he turned to the left and pursued more populist policies. Some political reforms were also carried out. Two of the most significant were: the reduction of the voting age from 21 to 18 and the expansion of the proportional representatives seats in Congress by 200. The political reforms made it possible for other parties to join in the political structure so that by 1988 of the 500 congressional seats the PRI only held 261, and the opposition, made up of many other parties, held the rest. Since then there have been numerous demands for honest elections and as a result, the opposition parties have made some important gains. Of these parties, the Partido Revolucionario Democratico (PRD) emerged in 1988 under the leadership of Cuhatemoc Cardenas and seriously challenged the PRI hegemony. Unfortunately today the PRD seems to be in complete disarray and is not longer the threat that it was made out to be. The only other major party that could challenge the PRI is the PAN, with a strong base in the North and a very conservative political agenda. According to some of the professors that we spoke to, Salinas is seriously interested in political reform, particularly in the emergence of a strong opposition party that could challenge the monolithic power of the PRI. The most optimistic among the experts believe that in the next ten years Mexico could witness the emergence of such a strong political party.

In the Mexican political system the role of the president is of paramount importance. From the beginning, his power has rested on the army, the PRI and the bureaucracy. Until 1940 the army was the main player, when the PRI took control by establishing links with peasants and workers' organizations and the middle sectors. By 1970 the bureaucracy takes over. This is illustrated by the coming to power of Echevarria, a career bureaucrat.

Another significant development in the political system has been the change that has occurred in the composition of Cabinet members that work with the President. For example, under Cardenas, 33% of the members had no college education, 62% held BA's and only 7% held Master's degrees. By the 1960's, under Diaz Ordaz, the picture had changed dramatically: 90% held BAs and 7% held PH.Ds. This trend continued through the 1980's, to the point that under De la Madrid administration 21% had Master's degrees and 15% had Ph.Ds. As can be appreciated by these figures the level of education of the Cabinet members has increased dramatically in the last fifty years. What this means is that the tension between the PRI and the bureaucracy, that is between the "politicos" and the technocrats, has gotten worse. The old-fashioned PRI politicos have been gradually displaced by younger and better educated bureaucrats. This brought about the split of the PRI in 1988 when Cardenas decided to form his own political party and challenged Salinas. According to most political analysts, Cuauhtemoc Cardenas probably won the 1988 election, but Salinas was declared the winner anyway. Since 1988 the Cardenas' movement has fallen apart and in the legislative elections of August of this year took third place.

USA-Mexiccan relations

Rafael Fernandez holds a degree in International Relations from Georgetown University and worked until recently for the Mexican Foreign Ministry. According to Professor Fernandez, since Salinas took power in 1988 Mexican-American relations have entered a period of strong cooperation between both countries. Considering the tumultuous political and economic relations of these two countries in the past, this is a significant development. The reasons for this change are several.

Mexican perspective:

1. Economic liberalization. Mexico is committed to reorganizing its economy according to the USA model.

2. Political stability in Central America. During the 1980's, the differences between the USA and Mexico in their approach to the political situation in Central America caused a lot of friction. As the political situationin the area improves, this particular source of conflict will become less and less important.

3. Mexico's new spirit of cooperation. Salinas has demonstrated his willingness to go along with USA foreign policy in the region.

4. George Bush and Carlos Salinas relationship. Unlike past Mexican and American presidents, these two presidents have developed a strong personal relationship. They have already met eight times since 1988, and in the middle of the Gulf Crisis the fact that George Bush did not hesitate to meet with Salinas in Monterrey, Mexico, was highly appreciated by Mexican government officials.

American perspective:

1. The Texan connection. George Bush and James Baker are both from Texas, a state which for decades has had strong economic ties with Mexico. Texas exports $10 billion worth of goods to Mexico every year.

2. USA economic decline. Due to the increasing world-wide competition, by signing the Free Trade Agreement with Mexico, the USA expects to revitalize its economy by creating the Northamerican Economic Communityand ableto compete with the European Economic Community and Japan.

And yet there are still important issues to be resolved for this partnership to work. For the USA, dealing with an epidemic of drug use at home, partly supplied by Mexican drug growers and traffickers, the drug problem is by far the most sensitive issue. For Mexico this is a very difficult problem to handle because of the corruption existing at many government levels. There is increasing cooperation from the Mexican authorities, but the eradication of marihuana and poppy fields located in the mountains is going to take time and money. For Mexico migration is the most sensitive issue because of the increasing violence inflicted on Mexican immigrants by Americans with the tacit approval of US border officials. Even though it is true that the immigration of Mexican workers to the USA relieves some of the need to create jobs, the Mexican government wishes it could stop this drainage of brain power, since in the end the best qualified people tend to emigrate to the USA.

CONCLUSIONS

The seminar in Mexico came to an end in July 17. The talks about economic development in Mexico have been informative but at the same time a bit monotonous and repetitive. All the experts have given the same message: development along the capitalist lines is the answer to Mexico's underdeveloped economy. Thanks to the wonders of the free market and free trade Mexico is going to be launched into the 21st century. According to the majority of the Mexican economists who participated in the Seminar, all bilingual and educated in American universities, in order for Mexico to become an industrial power and achieve prosperity, it must liberalize is economic policies, practice free trade and let the market operate freely without any constraints from the government. The ITAM professors, the new technocratic class leading the radical economic changes taking place in the country, are convinced that this is the only way out of the mess in which Mexico finds itself. Therefore, all the tariffs on imported goods must be lowered so that they can be sold freely in the Mexican market. Despite the fact that many Mexican industries, unable to compete, will have to close down, in the end the surviving industries will be more efficient and therefore more competitive and productive.

Privatization is the main pillar of this economic program. Since 1985 the government has privatized more than two thirds of all public enterprises. Banks are also being privatized. Even the oil industry, the untouchable among the public sector, will also have to be turned over to the private sector. The Free Trade Agreement, which will supposedly lead to the creation of the largest world market, is the second pillar of the economic revolution taking place. Forced to compete with the more efficient American and Canadian manufactures, the experts beleive, Mexico's industry will have to modernize and invest in new technology in order to become competitive.

The third pillar is foreign investment, which has already started attracted a lot of capital, due to the new liberal economic policies put into effect by the Salinas' administration. Foreign investment will result in the creation of a multitude of foreign owned enterprises which will provide millions of jobs for Mexican workers.

This is, in short, the new economic program being launched by the Mexican government, supposed to lift this country out of its economic mess. Will it work? Since I am not an economist, I can't tell. However, as a lay person, skeptical and suspicious of miracle cures, I have some reservations. Assuming that it works, Mexico will modernize in the long term, perhaps in twenty years. There is no question that some sort of development will occur, particularly in the areas already developed, such as Mexico City, Monterrey, and Guadalajara. These three cities already have the infrastructure and the trained labor force needed to absorb foreign investment and become even larger industrial centers. As for the rest of Mexico, who knows? I suspect that foreign investors will naturally invest in the three areas mentioned for the reasons given and ignore the rest of the country In this regard, the government should step in and provide the necessary incentives to ensure that the rest of the country is included in the economic restructuring being carried out. Were this not to happen, large areas of Mexico would remain as poor and underdeveloped as they are today. Whatever the case might be, I do not see how Mexico is going to attract enough foreign capital--an average of eight billion dollars a year-- to create the more than one million jobs needed to provide jobs for the people entering the labor market every year. Of course this does not take into account the millions of people who are either unemployed or underemployed and who are also part of the labor market.

In my judgment, Mexico's future economic development and prosperity depends mainly on its population growth rate, which is a factor that the majority of the Mexican economists that participated in the seminar conspicuously left out of all their economic equations. For me, this is the major obstacle to Mexico's development. Officially the birthrate has come down from of high of 3.5% a year to a low of 2.2%. At least one expert doubts that this figure is realistic, because of the large number of people that could not be counted. I can't help feeling somewhat pessimistic about Mexico's chances of success, especially when one considers the millions of poor people barely making a living in the countryside and the urban centers. How are they going to provide decent jobs for all these people? I do not know. And yet, my pessimism must be qualified because, despite all my grave reservations about the economic revolution taking place, I see a strong willingness on the part of the Mexican officials that things can not continue as in the past and that something radical must be done. This recognition of the fact that Mexico has to change its ways is what gives me hope.

EL SALVADOR

An unexpected visit to war-torn El Salvador. July 20, 1991

The last two days took a toll on the group's energy and enthusiasm. On the morning of July 18 we left the hotel in Mexico City for the airport. Our flight was scheduled to leave for Tegucigalpa, Honduras, at 1:30 p.m. After waiting for two hours, we were informed that our plain was experiencing some mechanical problems and that our flight had been cancelled until the next day. The group was taken to Fiesta Americana, one of the best hotels in Mexico City, located near the airport terminal. Fiesta Americana turned out to be an oasis of luxury and comfort in the midst of the noise, the dirt and the pollution of Mexico City. At 4 a.m the following morning we were rudely awakened and informed that our flight would be ready for departure at 6 a.m. The route had been changed, and instead of flying to Tegucigalpa we had to fly first to San Salvador and catch a 5 p.m flight to Tegucigalpa. The unexpected stop-over at San Salvador turned out to be very interesting indeed. The fact that El Salvador had not been included as one of the Central American countries to be studied in the Seminar was not a surprise to me, considering the ten-year Civil War that has raged in the country. Obviously it is not a safe place to visit, particularly for a group of Americans whose government has been supporting the Salvadoran government against the guerrillas since the onset of the conflict. Although a bit concerned about going there, the group was excited.

We arrived at the San Salvador' airport at 8 a.m. and, since our plane for Tegucigalpa did not leave until 5 p.m, Taca Airlines decided to take the group to San Salvador, 30 miles away from the airport. The ride to the city was uneventful. There was not much traffick. The road, however, was surrounded by heavy vegetation on either side and that made me a bit nervous, since this kind of terrain is the ideal place for guerrillas to hide and from where to launch their attacks. The sight of huge potholes on the road, probably made by some mine explosions, did nothing to allay my fear. When we got closer to the outskirts of San Salvador, I felt better; military trucks full of armed soldiers could be seen everywhere As the bus rode through the city on its way to the hotel the amount of military activity increased. The guerrilla movement is a force to be reckoned with in San Salvador. The city, because of its vulnerability (it is located on a valley sorrunded by high mountains covered with trees), is an easy target for the guerrillas.

Fortunately we arrived at the hotel safely. The Plaza Hotel is located in the rich section of San Salvador on a hill overlooking the city. Security in this area was very heavy. The houses of the rich are protected with high concrete walls topped with barbed wire and by armed patrols standing in strategic places. The hotel was also surrounded by a wall, some soldiers in the corner, and two hotel security men with automatic weapons. Once inside the hotel, quite modern and with a swimming pool, it was easy to forget that we were in the midst of a war-torn country. Some took advantage of the situation, put on their bathing suits and spent the next few hours by the pool swimming and drinking beer. Unable to resist the temptation of touring the city, six of us decided to hire two taxis.

The cabby in my group was told to take us to as many places as possible in the two hours we had. His name was Eduardo, a thirty-seven-year old and father of two childen. He turned to be the ideal tour-guide; he was talkative, well-informed, articulate and, more importantly, cautious. The first thing he said to us as soon as we got in his cab was, "Please, do not take any pictures of soldiers". To my surprise, San Salvador looked busy and crowded. The absence of any tourists made our presence uncorfomtably conspicuous but this did not deter the thre of us from taking pictures of people and buldings. Some of the buildings were in disrepair. Contrary to my expectations, the damage to buildings was not caused by the war but by the 1985 earthquake. At the cathedral were Archbishop Romero was murdered while celebrating mass I asked Eduardo if the American movie about Romero had been shown in El Salvador. He was not aware that a film had been made and I offered to send him a video copy when I returned to the States. After spending some time walking in the main square we asked Eduardo to drive by the American Embassy. The building, made out of concrete and no windows visible from the street where we were standing, was surrounded by a ten-foot concrete wall covered with Anti-American grafitty. Eduardo informed us that every time the students at the National University feel like protesting, they march to the Embassy to write on its walls.

Our drive by one of the military hospitals where the casualties of the war end up was depressing. A group of very young soldiers on crutches and casts were walking around or standing against the walls. Most of them were very young teenagers. According to Eduardo, the Goverment recruits youngsters as young as 14 years of age to do their fighting. Some are forced to enlist but many join the army voluntarily because the pay is good. They receive 900 colones a month, which is more than the average salary of teachers and workers.

The tour was surprising. Thinking about the 13-year- old civil war, I was expecting San Salvador to be in worse shape than it actually is. Aside from the demolished buildings visible in many parts of the city and some poverty, most of the people are decently dressed and seem wellfed. Undoubtedly, the most extraordinary thing about this tour was to realize how little an impact the war has made on the city's traffick and economic activity. In this respect, San Salvador is not different than many other Mexican and Central American cities that we visited. When we asked Eduardo about the future of his country, he told us that he and most people are very tired of the war and are hoping for an end to it. He turned out to be a democrat and he was equally critical of the Army, the Government, American intervention, and the guerrillas. In his opinion, demilitarization is the main obstacle to peace. There are simply too many people making a living fighting in this war, and it is not going to be easy to demobilize them.

HONDURAS

Tegucigalpa. July 20, 1991

Our arrival to Tegucigalpa last night at 7 p.m. was shocking. The first shock was the airport facilities. In terms of its size, it is not larger than the airports one finds in some small American cities. But unlike these American airports, the Tegucigalpa International Airport has the facilities of a run-down American bus station. The outside was poorly lighted and it took me a few seconds to become accustomed to the darkness. As I was leaving the terminal I heard someone yelling "Fulbright" and as I approached him, two small children yelling "Fulbright" grabbed my two suitcases without much warning and started walking away. Of course, I followed them not quite knowing what was going on. Fortunately they stopped at a bus parked nearby and handed the two suitcases to an old man inside the bus. Then they opened their hands and said: "One dollar, amigo, one dollar, amigo". That is when I realized that I had arrived to in a Third World country. Since I did not have any $1 bills, I tried in Spanish to explain to them that I had to get some change. But they did not want to understand and kept shouting "One dollar, amigo, one dollar". Quite dissapointed and upset, they left after less than half a minute and ran back to the terminal entrance. From the bus I could see that another one of my fellow travellers was being subjected to the same welcome. They used the same technique with everybody in the group and in less than ten minutes this group of five children had managed to make $20. Not bad for such a little amount of work.

The depressing and poorly lighted airport was a preview of things to come. At night, Tegucigalpa is poorly lighted and looks very dark. Obviously energy is at a premium in this country. Tegucigalpa did not look at all like a capital city. After the hustle and bustle of the Mexican cities we visited, Tegucigalpa looked like a small provincial Mexican town. As we would soon find out, Honduras is by far the least developed country in all Central America.

San Pedro de Sula. July 21, 1991

Before we had any time to tour Tegucigalpa, we left for San Pedro de Sula the following day. San Pedro, located in the northeastern part of the country, is the second largest city in Honduras, and it is a smaller and much better looking city. The downtown area is especially impressive with a beatiful white church and a large square with trees where people walk and socialize. Also. it has a large and busy street market where a multitude of vendors sell their goods.

Hondurans do not dress as colorfully as Mexicans. Their clothes are a bit darker in tone. They are also racially different from Mexicans. The European gene pool is not as predominant as it is in some parts of Mexico. The most predominant racial feature is African unlike Mexico, where the population is a mixture of European and Indian. The Atlantic coast of Honduras was a favorite refuge for black slaves escaping from the Caribbean sugar plantations in the 16th century.

Copan. July 22, 1991

The trip to Copan, a Mayan city located two hours away from San Pedro de Sula, gave us an opportunity to appreciate the level of poverty found in the Honduran countryside. All along the road to Copan, we saw hundreds and hundreds of small shacks built with a combination of mud, adobe, straw and wood, and without electricity or running water. The people looked malnourished, poorly dressed, bewildered and dirty. Children walking barefoot were visible everywhere. The people in this part of the country seem to survive by raising cattle and cultivating corn on very steep hills. At one of the stops, we were practically surrounded by dozens of children and old people begging for money. This ride through the countryside was depressing but highly educational in terms of the degree of poverty present in this part of the world. What was so shocking about it, is the fact that unlike in Mexico where poverty is concentrated in very specific pockets of the countryside and the cities, poverty in the Honduran countryside is present everywhere.

Copan, the only Mayan city unearthed in Honduras to date, was spectacular. Located in the midst of a valley through which a small river runs, Copan, built some time after the birth of Christ, was inhabited for hundreds of years was inhabited by 20,000 people until it was abandoned around the 9th century. Compared to Uzmal and Chichen-Itza in the Yucatan peninsula, Copan's architecture and scupture are exquisite. Among the experts it is known as the Athens of the Mayan civilization and having visited several Mayan cities, I can attest that this is no exaggeration. What it lacks in size, it more than makes up in beauty and finesse. Unfortunately, it has not been completely excavated. The stellas, stone statues of the kings that ruled the city, are covered with Mayan glyphs that tell stories of its past history. Who were these people? How did they live? How did they think? Despite all our knowledge about the Mayan civilization there are still many questions unanswered.

El Zamorano. July 23, 1991

Today we visited El Zamorano (Escuela Agricola Panamericana), supposedly the best agricultural school in all of Latin America. Founded by the owner of the United Fruit Company in 1940 and funded by him until the 1950's, El Zamorano is an oasis of order, cleanliness and abundance in the midst of all the poverty. Located 30 miles north of Tegucigalpa, it sits in the middle of a beautiful valley surrounded by high mountains. It has a student body of several hundred students who come from all parts of Latin America and pay $6000 per year for tuition, room and board. Because of its high cost for Latin American standards, 70% of the students receive scholarships.

The school's motto is "learning by doing", which means that the students learn and apply their knowledge in the 13,500 acres of land around the the school. It is not just a good agricultural school but a profitable enterprise wich sells $3,000,000 worth of produce in Tegucigalpa. One of the reasons for its fifty-year existence is the fact that it is apolitical, which has allowed it to survive the political chaos that predominates in this part of the world. According to the director, another reason for its success is the fact that it is run like a military school. The students wear blue pants and blue shirts, live in dorms, attend classes and work in the plots of land assigned to each one of them. There is no doubt that, compared to the rest of the country, El Zamorano is a great success and one can't help wondering why its agricultural and marketing know-how is not shared with the thousands of poor farmers living in the countryside. Having seen the abject poverty in which many of them live, it might just be a good idea to teach them sound agricultural techniques so that they can make more efficient use of the land and increase productivity. Just like in Mexico, small farmers are not very productive and lack the capital necessary to invest on machinery. As controversial as this may sound, it might just be necessary to expropiate the small farmer's land and create large agricultural operations that can be exploited rationally and efficiently. In order for this plan to work, most of these farmers would have to move to the cities and find jobs there. The problem, of course, is that the jobs are not available.

Tegucigalpa: a student demonstration. July 23, 1991

Around 11:30 a.m. yesterday, I was strolling in the main square when I heard some shouting. From one the streets leading into the square emerged a group of several hundred people marching and shouting. The crowd was made up of high school and university students carrying protest signs. After reading the signs and listening to the songs, I realized that they were protesting the rape and murder of a seventeen-year-old female student two days before. The reasons for her death were unclear but according to one of the newspapers, the girl had been killed after going to visit her boyfriend at one of the military barracks where he was stationed. The newspaper was rather vague about the details of the incident and did nott say who was responsible for the girl's murder, but the students were convinced that the murder had been committed by one of the officers at the military barracks. Later on I found out that they were also protesting the murder of the son of a well-known civil rights leader from San Pedro de Sula.

I followed the crowd into the University square, where the protesters stopped and listened to a group of speakers addressing the crowd from the top of a truck. Around the crowd there were about two dozen soldiers carrying guns and shields, and wearing helmets. One of the signs read "militares asesinos"; other signs were just as offensive. But to my surprise the soldiers were not reacting either to the insulting signs or the strong anti-military statements being made by the speakers. After half an hour I decided that it was time to go. I had been taking pictures and I was afraid that if the protest turned violent, I would not only risk my life but I would probably lose my camera and my pictures.

Taking into account the political situation in Honduras, the student protest was an encouraging and hopeful sign that politics, at least among the student population, still matters. Fortunately, the protest did not turn violent. The surprising thing about the event is the fact that the army did not intervene at all.

El Norte

Later in the evening David, one of my fellow travellers, and I went back to the Main Square and approached three young people who look like students. We wanted to find out more information about the details of the murder as well as their feelings about the events of the day. They were quite reluctant to talk about it, so we did not find out anything new. Were they afraid to talk to us? Did they really care about what had happend? It was hard to tell. However they felt about the day's events they were, by far, more interested in finding out about us and life in the USA than the politics of their country. One of three, a 20 year-old girl, was already making plans to come tothe USA. She said that she had given up on Honduras and was moving to the States, where, with the help of some relatives would be able to get a job and settle down. The other two students sounded frustrated and hopeless about the economic situation in Honduras, and though they expressed a strong desire to come to the States, they did not yet have any specific plans.

The strong fascination of these young people with the USA is just one more example of the irrestible appeal that life in our country has for millions of people in Latin America. El Norte, as the States as known in these parts of the world, continues to capture their imagination and embodies the hope for a better life of hundreds of thousands of poor people all throughout Latin America, particularly of Mexicans and Central Americans. I suppose the movement of people from south of the border will continue as long as the economic and political conditions of these countries do not improve.

A party with some Honduran teachers

Late in the afternoon the entire group was invited to a dinner by a group of private school teachers and administrators. They were working for the several bilingual private schools in Tegucigalpa. The food was plentiful and delicious and the conversations with the teachers very informative. I happened to spend most of my time with the director of a private bilingual school. A woman in her early forties who had studied in the States, she was extremely articulate and a member of the country's elite. She personally knew President Callejas. Her life style is exceptional compared to most Honduran women. She runs her own school and although married with three small children, she can afford to work outside the house. She employs three maids to cook, clean and take care of the children. In Honduras one does not have to be rich to be able to afford maids. Labor is so cheap that even the small middle class can afford to hire domestic help. This was also true of Mexico where I met people from the middle class who had maids.

La Universidad Autonoma Nacional de Honduras

It is only by taking a close look at the Honduran educational system that one begins to understand why this country remains poor and underdeveloped. The national university system of Honduras has a total of 32,000 students, 23,00 of whom attend the main campus in Tegucigalpa. The other four private universities have a total of 10.000 students. The total number of university students in the whole country amounts to 42.000 For a country of 4,.000,000 poeple, that means that 1% of the population has the opportunity of getting a university degree. Since I do not know what the dropout rate is, I have no idea how many of these students actually graduate with degrees. But whatever the actual number is, I doubt very much that it can be compared to the 22% of people that hold college degrees in the USA. In addition to the low number of college students in the country, one must also look at the quality of the education they receive. In this regard, the data is even worse. Of the 1200 members that make up the faculty of this campus, there are only 40 with PhD degrees and 300 with Master's degrees. The rest, more than 60% of the entire faculty, have degrees below the Master's level. The numbers speak for themselves.

The working conditions for university teachers are appalling. Although it is true that the average teaching load--12 to 14 hours per semester--is very similar to that of most of our college teachers in the USA, their classes tend to be overcrowded and they lack the facilities--libraries, laboratories--to do a good job. Also, when one considers the kind of salaries they receive (the average salary at this campus for teachers is 1500 lempiras or $300), one realizes that teachers' morale must be very low. As far as the student body is concerned, there is another factor that complicates the picture even more. The majority of the students have full-time jobs and attend classes from 4 to 9 p.m. That being the case, one has to wonder about the amount of time they can actually spend working on their courses.

NICARAGUA

Managua. July 24, 1991

Driving from Managua International Airport on the night of July 24 to INCAE, the university compund where we are staying was, depressing--bad roads, poor lighting and hundreds of shacks along the road. Compared to Honduras, Managua looks much worse. Evidently, ten years of civil war, a US economic embargo, a revolution, and poor Sandinista management of the economy have taken their toll. But despite this first bad impression, being in Nicaragua felt me with excitement and curiosity. After all, Nicaragua has undergone a major revolution in the last ten years, and I was anxious to see what the Sandinistas had accomplished. At the same time, I was curious to see why the Sandinistas were voted out of power in last year's election and what the Chamorro government was attempting to do as it goes about reversing the revolutionary changes carried out by the Sandinistas.

Nicaragua is a society in transition. Incredibly, last year the Sandinistas gave up power to a coalition of parties led by Violeta Chamorro. Since April of 1990, Nicaragua has seen the end of the civil war that torn the country apart during the 1980s, the return of most of the contra soldiers to civilian life, and the establishment of a pluralistic political system. Where are all these changes leading? Although it is always risky to predict the future, it is obvious to any observer that Nicaragua is not going back to the way the country was run before the Sandinistas took power from Somoza in 1979. Does the end of Sandinista rule mean that the revolution is over? This I seriously doubt. For one thing, the Sandinistas hold almost half of all seats in the Nicaraguan congress and are still in control of the army. If nothing else, one suspects that they will do whatever it takes to preserve some of the changes brought about by the Revolution. For another, the UNO party is a coalition of many different groups with no common goals, except keeping the Sandinistas out of power.

It is safe to assume that in the short term, at least, Nicaragua will go through some tumultuos times as it adjusts to the new economic and political conditions. Many Nicaraguans are returning, and those whose land and propery were confiscated want them back. Litigation is already taking place. Those who left businesses behind find nothing but the buildings themselves. The landowners are much worse, since much of the land was distributed among the peasants. There is going to be much pain and conflict until all these issues are resolved.

The Secretary of Education

Our first day in Managua had a full schedule. First we went to the Ministry of Education, located in a rundown and dirty neighborhood. Dr. Humberto Hill, the Education secretary and a member of the City of God (a conservative and Catholic group) kindly answered all our questions. From his answers it was evident that the state of the Nicaraguan educational infrastructure is dismal. For a student population of 1,000,000, they have a budget of $70,000,000. By contrast, Albright College, the institution where I work in the States has a budget of approximately $25,000,000 for 1,100 fulltime students and 500 part-time students.

But lack of money is just one of the many problems facing the Ministry of Education. Of the 25,000 teachers the system has, two thirds are not certified and every year 5,000 quit the profession; only 2,500 of them are replaced. This high teacher attrition rate is due to several factors: low moral, inadequate facilities and very low salaries. At the present time, the average teacher's salary is barely $70 a month. According to the Secretary, most of the school buildings are in disrepair. The classrooms are in such a dismal state that in many instances children have to bring their own chairs to school. Having seen the conditions of the roads and the buildings in Managua, I have no reason to believe that Dr. Humberto Hill is exaggerating. To realize the magnitude of the problem, one only has to consider the fact that $12 dollars per child is all the money available for education.

One of the first changes taking place in education has been the printing of new textbooks. Social science and humanities texts with a more traditional ideology have replaced those with a pro-Marxist focus. One interesting note: the account of the last ten years of Nicaraguan history have been purposely left out of the history books until the country comes to terms with this revolutionary period.

La Prensa:

Our second visit of the day was to La Prensa, whose editor is Cristiana Chamorro, the daughter of President Violeta Chamorro. Throughout the years, La Prensa has managed to survive not only the Somoza dictatorship but also the Sandinista Revolution. But it has paid a high prize: the father of Cristiana Chamorro was one of the victims of

Somoza. During the first few years of the Revolution, La Prensa supported the changes brought about, but it eventually became critical of the Sandinaistas as they took more radical measures. As its relationship with the Sandinistas turned sour, it had to depend on financial contributions from American groups. But the fact that it remained open during the 1980s seems to indicate that the Sandinistas were not as intolerant as they were made to appear by the American media and the Reagan administration. However, the censorship exercised by the Sandinistas was intense, according to Cristiana Chamorro.

La Prensa today continues to be committed to democracy and fully supports the policies of the party in power. According to Ms. Chamorro, it receives some funding from the private sector. The building where its offices are located are in disrepair, just like the rest of Managua. The building looks rundown and old, with the paint peeling from the walls.

Lunch in downtown Managua

After a busy morning we were taken downtown Managua. We wandered for a while by the National Palace and the ruins of the Cathedral. Downtown Managua looks like a disaster area. Most of the damage was caused by the 1972 earthquake and the rest by 15 years of civil war and revolution. It is quite a depressing site. Managua looks a European city after the Second World War.

For lunch, it was suggested that we go to "Los Antojitos", one of the few functioning restaurants in the entire city. Had we known that the restaurant was only half a mile away, we would not have taken a cab. Two minutes later we arrived at our destination. To our amazement, we were charged 20 cordobas or the equivalent of $5. Only a day befor in Tegucigalpa I had hired a taxi for an hour at a cost of $5. We were just beginning to realize how expensive Managua is. The restaurant looked clean and had a pleasant terrace. We picked a table and waited for the waiter to bring us the menu. The restaurant was half empty. The prices on the menu looked reasonable to us, although a bit more expensive than in Mexico and Honduras. Two of us ordered the specialty of the house, "antojitos", a dish made up of beans, tortillas, pork, chicken and salad. It was a bit greasy, but we enjoyed it. When the bill came, we were shocked: the total bill for the four of us came up to 150 cordobas ($50), which was at least twice as expensive as we had anticipated. Carefully we went over the bill and discovered that we had not only been charged double for the "antojitos", they had also added a 5% tip and a 10% tax charge. I am aware that $50 for lunch for four people in the States may not sound expensive, but it is outrageous by Central American standards. The next fifteen minutes were extremely unplesant. We argued and tried to reason with the waiter and the manager but it became obvious that we were getting nowhere. Despite the fact that we felt cheated and abused, the bill was paid and we walked away in disgust. For some strange reason, I felt as if we had been just punished for the policies of the Reagan administration that caused so much pain and suffering in Nicaragua during the 1980s.

The Mayor of Managua

Our next stop was at the mayor' office. His office is an apartment in a dirty and run-down neighborhood. The fact that he could not make the appointment did not matter too much. Two of his aides were there to answer all our questions. One was a lawyer, who had spent ten years exiled in Chile; the other was also an exilee from Florida. Evidently, something has been happening in Nicaragua since the April 1990 elections. So far all the government officials we had seen were from the UNO party. Where are the Sandinistas? Just a few figures will suffice to give an idea of the actual economic conditions in Managua. There is a housing shortage of 100,000 units. The budget for a city of 1,000,.000 people amounts to $20,000,000, hardly sufficient for the millions of dollars needed to pay for the reconstruction of Managua. Interestingly enough, the owner of Domino's Pizza has donated $3,500.000 to build a new cathedral. All the city of Managua has to do is raise the rest of the money, $500.000, before the construction starts. When one considers the hundreds of thousands of people living in shacks in the city, the decision to build a $4,000.000 new cathedral seems totally inappropiate. And yet, the two aides sounded excited about it.

A personal view of the Sandinista Revolution:

Dr. Francisco Mayorga, a graduate in Economics from an American university, who was convinced that the country needed some major social and economic reforms and that the power and the Somoza regime had to be destroyed, joined the Sandinista Revolution in the late 1970s. When the revolution came and Somoza was overthrown, he worked closely with the Sandinistas. Two years later, when he realized that the Sandinistas were intent on building a society based on Marxist economic and social principles, he quit his job as President of the Banco Central and went back to teaching. Despite his efforts to convince the Sandinista leadership that they were headed for an economic disaster, he finally gave up went back to teaching at INCAE, a business school located on a hill overlooking

Managua. Throughout the entire Sandinista period he taught business and management courses to his students, some of whom would eventually end up working for the Sandinistas.

His major disagreement with the Sandinistas came when nationalization of all the country's resources was put into effect. Believing that self-interest is one of the most powerful incentives that motivates people to be productive, he witnessed the gradual deterioration of the economy under the Sandinista regime. In his opinion, the confiscation of productive assets and the establisment of collective farms were counterproductive. He believes that the land shoud have been distributed to the peasants. Another mistake was the Sandinista policy of subsidizing everything. Food was so inexpensive that farmers started producing less and less. Present agricultural production has dropped to very low levels: compared to 1978, today only half of the land is being cultivated. In addition, government subsidies and defense spending resulted in large deficits and hyperinflation. Economic growth eventually stopped and went back to the 1945 levels. The 4% birthrate worsen the situation even more.

The coming to power of the UNO party in April of 1990 has marked the beginning of a new era in Nicaragua as the new administration slowly attempts to correct the economic mistakes of the Sandinistas. The currency has been stabilized, all subsidies have been dropped and the goverment deficit, still very high, is on its way down. In short, the free enterprise system is slowly being reintroduced. However, there is still much work to be done. On the one hand, the government still controls 50% of the industry, and the land distribution that was carried out by the Sandinistas during the brief period before the UNO party took party is already causing much unrest as the legal owners reclaim their land. On the other hand, the Sandinista party is obstructing the reforms in congress. His main concern lies in the fact that the FSLN still controls the army and the possiblity of a coup d' etat exists. They are also in control of the judicial system and the labor unions. The labor unions could make things difficult for the producers and all those interested in investing in Nicaragua.

Dr. Mayorga came accross as an honest and caring human being. In his criticism of Sandinista economic policies, he had the figures to prove his point. He was fair in his assessment of the situation and recognized that the negative growth of the economy during this period was not due only to Sandinista mismanegement but also to the USA economic embargo and the USA-supported Contra war. He also showed concern for the poor and believes that it is the responsability of the party in power to protect them from the abuses of the capitalist system.

Nicaragua today: an economic disaster.

Nicaragua today looks desolate, filthy, and broken. It seems that none all the buildings have been painted since 1979, and everywhere we went the walls were covered with Sandinista slogans. The roads have many potholes and shacks are everywhere. The damage done to the country's infrastructure is going to take many years to repair. But money is scarce. Nicaragua is bunkrupt with a foreign debt close to $13 billion, which is six times the value of its GNP.

Managua, the capital, looks like it has been bombed. Traffic is scarce, and public transportation is almost nonexistent; there are no modern busses to be seen anywhere. Small private trucks and large army trucks are being used to move people around. Downtown Managua only has two modern buildings still standing. Granada, the second largest city, does not look any better. Despite the fact that it was not damaged by either the earquake or the war, it looked dirty and desolate, with slogans painted everywhere and very little economic activity.

The end of the Sandinista Revolution?

The coordinator of the Seminar had scheduled only one visit with a member of the Sandinista Party. After spending two days talking to members of the UNO Party, we were more than anxious to hear what Carlos Chamorro, the editor of La Barricada, had to say about the changes taking place in Nicaragua. We were met by Carlos Chamorro at the offices of the newspaper. He led the group into the hall where party members hold their meetings. The hall was a bit dark and there were several red and black flags on the walls; one of the flags, hanging from the ceiling in front of the room, was very large. There were chairs lined up in rows facing some sort of stage located on the front of the room. The hall had an Orwellian look to it, which I found unplesant and definitely incongruous. It was in this hall that I finally realized that the Sandinista Party was a Communist organization.

Carlos Chamorro, the only member of the Chamorro family to support the Sandinista Revolution wholeheartely, did not mind answering any of our questions. He did not even sound at all like the ideologue I expected. On the contrary, he sounded rather conservative in his economic and political views. If we are to believe him, he is very much in favor of democracy and the economic measures undertaken by the present administration. Surprised by his views I put to him the following question: "Let us imagine that the Sandinistas had won the April 1990 elections, what would their economic program be today?" His answer was inequivocal, "Our economic program would be pretty much the same as UNO's". Does it all mean that the Revolution is over? Well, to judge from La Barricada's ideological content, this seems to be the case. After a close reading of the newspaper, I failed to find any revolutionary ideas, except for an article praising and thanking the hundreds of Cuban doctors who performed voluntary work during the 1980s. Moreover, one of the newspaper's editorials called for the FSLN to adjust to the new economic and political reality and to play a more constructive role. Like many American newspapers, La barricada dealt mostly with the kind of frivolous and inane news that readers in the USA are accustomed to.

Today, under the UNO party leadership, Nicaragua is applying capitalist principles to get the country back in its feet. As in Mexico, privatization, free markets and non-fixed prices are the the key components of the economic program. Nicaraguans will have to wait for many years before they start noticing any improvement in their standard of living. In the meantime, they will have to continue suffering from food shortages and scarcity of many goods. Salaries are very low even for Central American standards. Armando, the bus driver who took us around the country, makes 260 cordobas which amounts to $53 a month hardly enough to support his family. When asked about what life was like under the Sandinistas, he replied that he was better off because food was much cheaper. He fought in the streets to overthrow Somoza and supported the Sandinistas for many years, but it is clear from his comments that his revolutionary fervor is gone. In some way, Armando epitomizes the will and the determination of the individual intent on surviving and finding personal solutions to his economic problems. If he ever believed that the Sandinista revolution would to take care of his needs, that is no longer the case. Today he plans to save enough money to buy his own truck and work for himself. At least for Armando, the Sandinista Revolution is over.

A Sandinista view of the revolution

Since the coordinator of the Seminar had only scheduled talks with members of the UNO party, except for the visit with Carlos Chamorro, the group, feeling somewhat disapointed at the thought of leaving Nicaragua without hearing the other side of the story, inquired about the possibilty of having a member of the the Sandinista Party give a talk. After some phone calls, we found Julio Valle, an adviser to Sergio Ramirez, the Vice-president of the FSLN.

A professor of literature a the Catholic University and a poet, Julio Valle fulfilled all my expectations. He not only spoke about the achievements of the Sandinistas but also about their failures. His first words were, "I am a Sandinista but I am not a member of the party. As a writer, my first loyalty is to my work and therefore, I am uncooperative and critical of any ideology. And yet I find in Sandinismo Nicaragua's true identity". Despite his reservations, it was clear from his background and presentation that he is still seriously committed to Sandinismo. From the beginning of the Revolution he worked with the most influential members of the Sandinista movement. First he was advisor to Ernesto Cardenal, the former Secretary of Culture, and then he became a member of Tomas Borge's cabinet.

When I said before that Julio Valle fulfilled all my expectations I was not exaggerating. To begin with, he looked like the stereotypical intelectual revolutionary; he wore a thick beard, long hair and glasses, plus that fanatical look in his eyes characteristic of any revolutionary. His presentation was powerful, poetic and inspiring. Most of it dealt with the achievements of the Revolution. The Sandinista's achievements are as follows: the overthrow of Somoza, the Agrarian Reform, and the establisment of true democratic pluralism for the first time in Nicaragua's history. Taking into account the economic and political conditions in Latin America, where these goals have rarely been realized, these are no small achievements. According to him, losing the elections is the best thing that has happened to the Sandinistas, because this will give them time to reflect and be critical of their performance during the last ten years.

In his judgment, the Sandinistas' major achievement was their willingness to play by democratic rules, which they amply demonstrated by allowing not only free elections but by stepping down from power after the April 1990 elections. Their main failure was their policies towards the Misquito people. Despite their good intentions, he acknowledged that their attempt to impose the revolution on the Misquitos was a major error. However, he reminded us that the Sandinistas never had the policy of shooting the opposition. In this respect, he believes that the priests that joined the Revolution were a moderating influence.

The most painful part of his presentation was his account of the death and the devastation brought about by the war. In this regard, let us allow the numbers speak for themselves. From 1982 to 1987, the war caused a total of 73,800 casualties, of whom 30,000 were killed. This does not take into account the 8,000 orphans and the 150,000 displaced people.

July 30, 1991

I was relieved to leave Nicaragua behind. The atmosphere in postwar Nicaragua is too disheartening. And yet I have optimistic about the future of the country. True, they seem to have given up on the Revolution, and the UNO party is in the process of reversing many of its accomplisments and transforming Nicaragua into a capitalist and democratic society. But somehow, the Nicaraguan people did not seem to be as frustrated and hopeless as the Hondurans and some of the Mexicans I met. They are walking tall. Unlike their Latin American brothers, the Nicaraguans experienced a revolutionary period that not only shook the foundations of the old society but also gave them pride and dignity. I am convinced that they will be able to capitalize on that revolutionary spirit to buil a more just society. If nothing else, the Sandinistas will be around to check and counterbalance the abuses of the capitalist class running the country.

GUATEMALA

Guatemala has the well-deserved reputation of having the worst human rights record in Latin America. It is supposed to be a country run by thugs and murderers. The week we are going to spend here promises to be very interesting.

Our first talk was given by Jane Lyons. She is an American anthropologist working in planning and health issues who has lived in Guatemala for many years. Her report on the future population growth of the country was disheartening. At the present birth rate, Guatemala, which has a population of 10,000.000, will tripple its population in the next 25 years. When one considers that the the needs of the majority of its the people are not being met at the present time, the prospects for the future look gloomy indeed. Jane Lyons' prognosis was definetely hopeless. Unless some radical changes occur soon, she is convinced that Guatemala is heading for a catastrophe. Amazingly enough, there is no government policy to control population growth. Do they leaders of this country know something that I do not know? I simply can not understand why no action is being taken to correct the situation.

The briefing at the American Embassy was frustrating. The group's insistence on getting a rationale for the US government's economic and political support of the Guatemalan regime got us nowhere. No matter how many times this question was raised, the officers did not deviate once from the official line which we are so acccustomed to hearing at home from our government officials. In private, however, some of them were much more candid and at times even somewhat critical of US policies in Central America.

Another speaker, whose name should remain anonymous, spoke about "US food aide". In a very detailed manner, the failures of the US program were described. Much more interesting was her fear of political repression. Apparently, she fears for her life because her research is considered too controversial and damaging by the Guatemalan government. Whether her fear was unfounded or not, she appeared quite nervous and asked not to be quoted. Later that day, at a party, we heard from some people stories about the killings and "desaparecidos". In most cases, they were speaking from personal experience about people they knew had been killed or "disappeared" It is hard to not admire their courage and commitment to the struggle for human rights in Guatemala.

Political violence

In one of yesterday's newspapers, the murder of a British reporter for the London Finantial Times was reported. He had been found death in his apartment with a bullet in the head. The circumstances of his death were unclear. All the article said was that two men had been seen entering his appartment before he was murdered. The police was investigating the case but no motive was given for his assassination. Were this a different part of the world, I would just treated it as just another murder. But since this was Guatemala and the victim wass a foreign correspondent murdered in the execution style typical of political assassinations, I suspected that his murder was politically motivated.

Halfway through the week the newspapers reported the uncovering of mass-graves in some small city of the country. Six bodies had been found already and the search for more bodies was continuing. The newspaper report claimed that as many as one hundred bodies could be uncovered. Apparently, they were all killed in the early 1980s. By whom? The paper did not say. Two days before we left Guatemala City, the newspapers again reported that six people had been found dead on two differert roads leading out of the city. They had all been shot in the head. I hope this was not a typical week in Guatemala City.

Guatemala's indians

One of the most striking features about this country, compared to the rest of Central America, is the high percentage of Indians among its population. The percentage is 50%, most of whom live in the rural areas. For many of them Spanish is still a foreign language. Since they live away from the cities, they lack access to education and health facilities. In addition, they are caught in the crossfire between the guerrillas and the goverment soldiers. Suspicions that they collaborate with the guerrillas have led to violent army retaliations against entire villages.

Universidad de San Carlos

Our brief visit to La Universidad de San Carlos in Guatemala City, the largest public university in the country, offered me the opportunity of observing directly the extent of the students' political concerns. Some of the walls of the buildings were covered with graffiti making references to the repression and killings perpetrated by the army. Every year a number of students lose their lifes in the struggle for social justice. Of the several murals on campus dedicated to victims of the violence, the most impressive was that of a law professor who had been murdered for defending the right to freedom of expression and for criticizing the goverment.

Antigua

Our trip to Antigua, a colonial city an hour away from the capital city, gave us the opportunity to enjoy Guatemala's beatifull countryside. On the way to the town, we were treated to the unexpected eruption of a volcano. From many miles away we could see the gigantic cloud of smoke coming out of its crater. Later we found out that the eruption had started two days before and that thousands of tons of ash had covered the area surrounding the volcano. Fortunately a major eruption was not expected, and the ashes covering the land will benefit the peasants. For them this is a gift from heaven, since volcanic ash is one of the best known fertilizers.

Antigua, the capital of the Virreinato de Guatemala, was founded by Pedro de Alvarado in the first half of the 16th century. It is beatifully located in a deep valley surrounded by high volcanoes. The setting is simply spectacular. As all the cities built by the Spaniards during the Colonial period, Antigua is filled with churches, monasteries and palaces. Once again I was reminded of the tremendous religious impact of the Conquest. But for me, the most impressive feature of Antigua was not its beatifull architecture but its Indian population. The women wear the most coloful and beautiful clothes I have seen anywhere. The colors are simply spectacular. It is a treat for the eyes.

La Universidad de Francisco Marroquin

Francisco Marroquin is a private university founded in 1971. Its goals are academic excellence, a free-market orientation and the teaching of Western values. The school is run and supported by businessmen and it has up-to-date computer and lab facilities. The majority of the 4,000 students come from the upper middle class and pay a tuition of only $60 a month. Unlike San Carlos University, with its grounds poorly maintained and its walls covered by political grafiti, Francisco Marroquin's campus is impeccably clean with new buildings and beautifully kept grounds with gardens and fish ponds. Instead of the dirty, old and smoke-filled busses that transport the students attending the San Carlos University, Francisco Marroquin' parking lot was full of expensive and new cars.

The politics at both schools are also different. San Carlos' students protest against the government, are committed to social change and hold

Marxist values. Left to their own devices, some of San Carlos's students would probably overthrow the government and install a Marxist revolutionary regime. At Francisco Marroquin, the faculty and the students are not pleased with the government either, but instead of a social revolution they claim to be struggling for an economic revolution in which the principles of capitalism can be applied. They believe in efficiency, productivity, free trade, privatization and the free market. The Francisco Marroquin professors and students we spoke to said that the goverment's role in the economy is the main obstacle to Guatemala's economic development. Their goal is to minimize or eliminate all the government's controls of the economy. That's why they are in favor of privatizing all state-run industries and eliminating all the red tape that interferes with the free movement of goods and services. Only the total liberalization of the economy, they believe, can set free the productive forces necessary for economic growth.

Despite my reservations about their approach for solving the grave economic problems facing this country, capitalism could succeed in changing the feudal and backward ways of Guatemalan society. Perhaps they are right in their belief that economic development must take priority before social justice. Every year this university graduates an army of 400 students heavily trained in capitalist principles. With few exceptions, the majority of them end up working in the private sector, where they put into practice their free market ideas. In all probability, they will create more wealth and develop new areas of the country but will they achieve social justice?

Two small villages. August 3, 1991

Our visit to the Peace Corps villages where some young Americans are working with the peasants was the highlght of yesterday's journey through the Guatemalan countryside. The setting was picturesque. Both villages are located in the highlands, rich land with thick vegetation and corn fields. The farmers live in small houses, cultivate corn and raise cattle, which is probably enough to provide sufficient food to feed themselves. Malnutrition does not seem to be a problem; they seemed well fed.

At the end of our visit, as some of us were waiting for the rest of the group to arrive, I had the opportunity to talk to a group of small children standing by the bus. I was struck by the fact that two of the boys were carrying make-believe rifles made out of wood. Since we were in guerrilla country, I could not help asking the two boys whether the were pretending to be guerillas or government soldiers. "We are guerrillas", they said without much hesitation. How old are you? I asked. "Seven years old,"said one. "Eight years old." said the other. As the conversation continued I found out that, we were indeed in guerrilla territory and that some guerrillas come down from their hiding places in the hills into the village, usually on weekends after dark. Obviously for these two boys, the guerrillas were the good guys. I could not help thinking that they would one day grow up and join the guerrillas in their struggle against the goverment. Before this fascinating encounter, a farmer had told us that the army comes to the village occasionally to recruit young people and that as soon as the villagers find out that the army is coming the young men head for the hills where they hide until the soldiers are gone.

Ann K. Stebbins
Eastern Kentucky University

PROPOSAL: One-Hour Topics Course: GSS 280

COURSE DESCRIPTION: Central America: Modernization South of the Border

TEXT MATERIALS: Selected readings from the Bibliography.

OBJECTIVES:

1. To give a geopolitical overview of Central America.
2. To present a description of the precolombian economy.
3. To show the impact of Spanish colonization on the precolombian economy.
4. To trace efforts of economic development from Independence to World War II.
5. To explain agro-export driven modernization after World War II.
6. To examine modernization through the import-substitution strategy during the 1960s and 1970s.
7. To analyse the economic crisis of the 1980s and its economic, social, and political impact.

ORGANIZATION:

The course will meet for thirteen one-hour sessions including the final examination. It will be organized into the following units.

Unit I: South of the Border Overview: Geopolitical Character of Central America

Unit II: History of economic development in Central America

- A. Precolombian economy
- B. Colonial economy
- C. Economic development from Independence to World War II

Unit III: Modernization in Central America since World War II

- A. Agro-export driven economic development
- B. Import-substitution economic development

Unit IV: Central American Economic Crisis of 1980s

A. Causes of the crisis: economic, social, and political

B. Impact of the crisis: economic, social, and political

C. Responses to the crisis: economic, social, political

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FILMS:

"Todos Santos Cuchumatan"
"Banana Company" or "Seeds of Revolution"

FULBRIGHT-HAYS SUMMER SEMINAR 1991

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

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The Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar provided me with the opportunity to expand my understanding of Mexico and Central America in ways that will enrich a number of the courses I teach, Introduction to Politics, Comparative Government, and Politics of Developing Nations. Also, it has enhanced my ability to offer a Latin America politics course in the near future. The seminar added to my previous knowledge in a way perhaps only travel can, and I developed new questions and curiosities during the Seminar and my preparation for it. Below is a list of the most important topics for my future study.

I. The trip and the materials supplied beforehand enhanced my understanding of the history of the region.
   A. The visits to the archeological sites and the reading about the Aztecs opened new avenues of interest to me.
   B. I better understand the history of Mexican Independence through the visits to San Miguel de Allende and Dolores and from conversation with a fellow participant.
   C. I have a better grasp of the Mexican Revolution from our reading and the museums we visited.

Goal: As 1992 approaches, I want to build upon what I learned during the trip to better understand the arrival of the Europeans and the colonial period. This will build on my work during the summer of 1990 when I began a study of Spanish history and politics.

II. I deepened my understanding of the urban and rural problems facing the region throughout the six weeks of the program.
   A. Since the largest amount of time was spent in Mexico City, I had more opportunity to observe and think about the problems of the urban populations. We saw the stark contrasts in wealth and poverty that I have read about.
   B. Observing the rural poverty in Mexico, Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua added first hand knowledge to my studies of the problems of rural development.

Goals: (1) I would like to develop a set of classes about Mexico City. I want to develop lectures, locate audio-visual materials, and find readings for my students about Mexico City. (2) I want to pursue the study of rural development. Other than moving to urban areas like Mexico city, what are the prospects for improving the lives of the rural poor? (3) Due to the cholera epidemic and from seeing the river in downtown Tegucigalpa which serves as the sewer, I decided I need to know more about sewage.

III. I became more familiar with agricultural practices in the region.

A. In Honduras we visited a banana plantation and I learned about the production of traditional exports.
B. We visited an agro-export farm near Guatemala City and I learned some details of producing vegetables for export to the United States.
C. We visited Zamorano, the Escuela Agricola Panamericana, where I was able to see the kind of research being conducted in agriculture.
D. We visited the International Center for Maize and Wheat Improvement (CIMMY), home of the Green Revolution, and learned about their current research to enhance agricultural production.
E. We visited an ejido near Mexico City where we saw the dedication of a new building for storing grain.

Goal: I want to know a great deal more about agriculture in the region. (1) In particular, I intend to study the banana industry. In La Lima, Honduras, I saw Chiquita banana boxes with a Cincinnati, Ohio, address, seventy miles from my home. I wish to research the trail of bananas from La Lima, Honduras, to my local supermarket where this week they are selling for 19 cents a pound. (2) I want to investigate the claims made by many of our speakers that nontraditional agricultural exports will provide a major economic boom to the region.

IV. A substantial portion of our lectures were about the supposed economic benefits of privatization and free markets.

A. In Mexico, I learned a great deal about the arguments for the Free Trade Agreement.
B. In Central America, we received information about the economic restructuring in each of the three countries.

Goals: (1) I want to learn more about the arguments against the Free Trade Agreement and the restructuring policies in order to better assess the claims we heard about the benefits. (2) I am particularly interested in investigating who will bear the costs of these programs and who will benefit from them, both in the short run and in the long run. (3) I am familiar with maquiladoras in Mexico, but during this trip I learned about their existence in Central America. I would like to know a great deal more about the track record of these factories in the region.

V. From a previous visit to Mexico and from my reading, I knew about the disputes over land ownership. However, this trip enhanced my desire to learn more about the politics of land.
   A. In Mexico and Honduras we saw squatter communities.
   B. In Mexico City we were taken to the Ecological Zone by police who described armed conflict with squatters from the past.
   C. In several of the countries, we heard about how unclear title to land has made for social conflict.

Goals: (1) I need to know a good deal more about the facts about land ownership. (2) While I have a general knowledge about the history of land reform in the region, I would like to know a great deal more about the current land reform programs.

VI. I was introduced to the environmental problems of the region by the seminar.
   A. We had lectures in Mexico and in Honduras about deforestation.
   B. In Nicaragua, we learned about the use of DDT in the cotton on the Pacific coast.
   C. In Honduras, we visited the Honduran Ecological Association, a nongovernmental organization, that is working on ecological problems in the country.

Goal: I frequently have students who wish to do research papers on environmental topics. As a result of this program, I will be able to suggest topics for them to study, and in the process, I will be able to continue to learn more about these issues.

VII. I went into the program most interested in Mexico and Nicaragua. As a result of the trip, I expanded my interests.

Goals: (1) I wish to expand my knowledge of Honduras, the country about which I know the least. (2) I wish to better understand the political situation in Guatemala.

VIII. Important parts of the trip for me were the visits to the embassies, where we received briefings from embassy staff and US AID staff, and met three ambassadors. Also, we visited two Peace Corps sites in Guatemala.

Goal: This reinforced my interest in US policy in the region, and the workings of the State Department. I want to continue to study US activity in the region.

Overall, the Seminar strengthened my interest in the region; I am rededicating myself to studying Spanish, and I have hopes of future travel in Mexico and Central America. As I become more informed about the region, I intend to write articles for the general public about Mexico and Central America along with enhancing my classes with material about the region.

SPECULATING ABOUT FREE MARKET ECONOMICS AND ARTISAN PRODUCTION IN MEXICO AND GUATEMALA*

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Scholars continue to be intrigued by the relationship between the production of art and the social context in which it is created. The political and economic influences affecting art production seem to be particularly important when art is born out of the everyday activities of people and expressed in forms we call "folk art." This paper is an effort to trace the potential effects of a changing economic environment in Latin America and the concomitant changes that can be foreseen in the production of traditionally based folk arts crafted by indigenous peoples in Mexico and Guatemala.

The Economic Background

In order to make a case for how the economy and art intersect, a brief account of the current economic change is in order. There is nothing short of a free market economic revolution trickling down to Mexico and the countries of Central America. These ideas are arriving by way of native-born economists who have received their training in the universities of the U.S. known for their conservative economic ideologies (particularly the University of Chicago). Currently in influential positions within their governments, these individuals all share a free market view of the world economy. This view is characterized by several beliefs, the most basic of which is that development occurs by stimulating capital investments. In deference to the massive changes happening in the world over the past two years, these economists acknowledge that there are now a number of questions concerning the origin of such investment capital and the definition of and influence over new resources and markets. Latin American free marketeers, with their counterparts in the United States, are interested in positioning themselves as best they can to be influential in "the new world order". They recognize a changing and diminished role for

U.S. influence in various parts of the world and admit some internal economic problems. This then has made them begin to think about smaller parcels of influence. They now believe that there are three emerging spheres of economic power. The first is controlled by Japan and includes the western part of the Pacific Rim, specifically the countries in south east Asia, the Philippines, China, and Korea. Although it is still a goal among many business leaders in the U.S. to cultivate this area, it is clear that Japan is far superior to the U.S. in terms of successful joint ventures and capital infusion.

In the past few years, some economists have looked at the opening up of the Eastern Bloc, and now the Soviet Union, as a major economic opportunity for those with capital and desire. However, due to the continuing political unrest, the potential of this market may not be realized for several years. There is also speculation that once all the boundary and political disputes are solved, or at least predictable, a unified Germany will emerge as a leader in this area of the world. Once again, the U.S. and other countries in this hemisphere don't seem to be particularly well positioned to take a leading role in such development.

That leaves the U.S. and the rest of the Americas looking for a way to unify their own hemisphere for their economic advantage. In such an arrangement the U.S. would continue to be the dominant economic power and be responsible for bringing together diverse populations and resources from Canada to Tierra del Fuego. U.S. economists, operating on these divisions, have already begun the battle for massive economic infusion into the hemisphere. The U.S. set the economic union in motion by signing the free trade agreement with Canada in 1989. Despite strong opposition to this agreement by several segments of the Canadian working class population, it has been declared a success by leaders in both countries. It is also the backdrop for the current campaign to enter into a Free Trade agreement with Mexico. Although the U.S. has enjoyed a variety of economic advantages in Mexico via previous programs, most specifically the development of maquiladoras, such an agreement has even more advantages. Staunch critics of the agreement protest that it would be a step toward making Mexico a source of cheap labor, relaxed environmental restrictions, and consumers for cheaply produced goods. However, before more closely examining this debate in the context of economic development and Mexico, the way free market economics is being introduced to the countries of Central America must be examined.

The history of Central America bares the indelible mark of U.S. intervention. Each country's development has occurred in the face of long-standing economic and political intrusion into the area. It is a matter of continuing debate as to whether U.S. political intervention in the area is due to its resources, or if the resources the U.S. has taken advantage of in the area became available via its political presence. Regardless, the major U.S. concern voiced about this region in the past decade has been its supposed "political instability." It seems likely that much of the instability in the region is directly related to a U.S. political and economic policy directed toward this end. Given this analysis, the continued intervention in this region has nicely positioned the U.S. for a big economic pay off. Military enforcement of U.S. preferences, and economic isolation of governments defying these goals, has netted some impressive results. The "democratic" change in governments in Nicaragua, the potential peace settlement in El Salvador, and the continuing U.S. backed military repression in Honduras and Guatemala have made the region seem a lot more stable recently. This now places the U.S. in the dominant development position for cultivating the region which is coming to be known as the "Central American common market." The development of resources, the introduction of technology, and economic tailoring of this region in free market terms would be greatly facilitated by the Mexican free trade agreement. If a free trade agreement is signed, the U.S. could gain an even larger economic foothold in Central America via access to these countries through subsidiaries and joint ventures undertaken in Mexico. This would mean a much safer investment; one which would show more return than existing expenditures in the area. Thus, monies traditionally filtered into the countries via military and/or development aid could be reduced in favor of the same free market assumptions that have gutted U.S. domestic social programs. This would be advantageous to the U.S. in a number of ways, mostly directed at ostensibly redefining our role in the region. The U.S. could show the critics of intervention that direct military aid would be reduced. They might also contain the critics of foreign spending by selling them the notion that development in this third world region in the hands of private enterprise, where, from their ideological perspective, it belongs. Thus, the U.S. might find themselves a controlling economic interest in the region, but safe from criticism for using direct military or economic force.

Based on this analysis, the advantages for the U.S. in developing a sphere of economic influence in this hemisphere are fairly clear. What, then is in it for the countries of Mexico and Central America. Most proponents of the free market development in these countries have had the advantage of living in the U.S. firsthand and are quick to cite the relative advantages of even the poorest of its citizens. They are also well aware of the growing economic problems in their own countries, the continued high rate of population growth, and the lack of internal investment and development capital. Facing these problems, the opportunity for some development looks better than no development at all. If free market development is at all successful in generating capital, even for just a few, economists in these countries can invoke free market principles and pin their hopes on the benevolence of the capitalists to reinvesting in the country. They must also retain the belief that trickle down theory will work better in developing countries than in a developed country like the U.S. Neither of these claims is anymore than theoretical at this time.

The application of free market economic development has been shown to be beneficial for a select segment of the population--those who already have capital to invest. This is clearly a very small portion of the population in Mexico and Central America. In Mexico, where at least 1/3 of all revenue for the average person comes from the "underground economy" (i.e., sources of production that lie outside what we typically call the economic sphere) it is hard to see how these changes will effect most people. In particular, these advantages are unlikely to effect the rural population. In countries like Guatemala, where the majority of people are still living in rural areas, and the malnutrition rates are placed as high as 85% by some sources, it is highly unlikely that this segment of the population will see an immediate or even many long-term benefits. So the question becomes: How will free market economic policies effect the lives of the majority of people in these countries?

This is the type of question which should be analyzed before these policies are in place. However, it is not part of the current debate in any more than a political sense. The question assumes that development is for the betterment of the lives of all people in the country, not just the privileged few. However, in the current world climate this is forgotten. Acknowledging that the policies might effect different segments of the population differently decreases its chances for implementation. Even thought economists and politicians in Latin America, as well as many in the U.S., now admit that trickle down benefits are sometimes hard to find, they still talk about the success of such policies "after some lean years". While it isn't possible within the context of one paper to trace out ways whereby various populations might be touched by the free market, it is possible to show what might happen to one segment of the population--those engaged in crafts production. I have chosen to focus my comments on the potential impact of the free trade agreement and free market policies encouraging privatization and joint ventures. I intend to compare the effects on art and craft production in Mexico and Guatemala. I have chosen these two countries because they provide good contrasting cases in terms of development readiness and resources. Both countries have had problems determining how to incorporate modernization while still retaining their indigenous traditions. I also believe that because the artisans, particularly those in the south of Mexico, share the same heritage as those in Guatemala, that the comparison will be strengthened, and the predicted consequences should appear all the more severe.

Artisan Production and the Underground Economy

Mexican and Guatemalan folk art has always been recognized, appreciated and collected by many outside of these countries. Recently, the art and crafts have become exceedingly popular in the United States, a fact some commentators attribute to the popularity of "Santa Fe Style." This art, and that made in the southwestern part of the United States, share many dimensions. At its root, this art manages to convey visions of indigenous cultures, their meanings and traditions. The ability to signify the everyday life of a community, in a beautiful manner, in commonly used objects, is what distinguishes these pieces as art. The primary role art plays in indigenous cultures is continued as the traditions are handed down to current practitioners of the crafts. These artisans then modify and change them according to evolving changes in other aspects of the community.

True to its definition as folk art, the artisans in Mexico and Guatemala learn their skills within their families or villages. It is not unusual that a particular village be known specifically for one craft, and it is altogether possible for those familiar with art and craft production to tell where a particular piece came from, and in some cases the exact name of the artisan or family who produced it. Despite this rich development of personal, familial, or village style, most orient to their artistic production as only a part of what they do. Farmers and homemakers are also carvers and weavers. This orientation to one's skill distinguishes folk art. Much of what is produced is for one's own pleasure and private consumption. Some of these crafts are tied to particular feast days and are given as gifts to the community or to others in the village.

However, there is no denying that some of the artistic production has always been produced with the tourist in mind. Thus, fine craftspersons might work on making several pieces of their art to be sold in the markets primarily frequented by foreign travelers and collectors. In this way, a portion of income for the family could be gained through activities which were otherwise part of their ongoing lives. There is some evidence to suggest that in some villages, and in the case of certain crafts, the amount of work produced for consumption by those outside of the country is increasing. Thus, artisans spend more time producing tourist art and finding appropriate markets for it, rather than practicing and refining their craft. For some, this increased production is economic salvation. If relatively good prices can be charged for these goods, sometimes it is more lucrative than continuing the subsistence farming in which many of the producers engage. This change to a cash economy has provided many with a much higher standard of living than they had previously experienced.

For the most part, the sale of artistic goods is totally unregulated and underground. By this it is meant that all of the profit goes directly to the producer, without the intrusion of regulatory fees, licenses, or taxes. While it may be the case in the urban areas that artisans have to pay rent for a space in the market, the ability of each individual to bargain is what is supposed to determine their profit. Ironically, in some sense this is the freest of markets. However, once foreign exporters become interested in these goods, the character of the profits produced changes. The artisans still make the going profit in terms of the existing markets in their own countries. The exporters, however, can make absurdly increased profits when marketing the art in their own countries. For example, in the United States, particularly due to the popularity of these goods mentioned before, importers and their sellers make 5 to 8 times the cost of the piece in the market. And, if the exporter signs an exclusive agreement with an artisan, the profits might even be greater in exchange for the security of knowing the goods will be bought. Therefore, while the price being paid for the art in each country may be satisfactory for those artisans who have no other way to get their art to markets hungry for it, the exporters seem to be making more than an expected mark-up. This is an arrangement that many economists see as perfectly acceptable in bringing together production and sale. However, in countries where impoverishment is so obvious, and where the time and craft that goes into this artistic production is so great, it is hard for some to see this as anything short of exploitation. So, then, the question becomes, how might the free market trend in Mexico and Guatemala effect this sort of underground artistic production? In each case, it seems that different scenarios could result.

Forgotten in Mexico

It is likely from all indications that the free trade agreement between Mexico and the U.S. will become a reality. The organized opposition is from labor groups in the U.S. and environmentalists on both sides of the border. However, the labor arguments have been effectively dismissed and the environmentalists have been appeased by having individuals express their concerns during the negotiations. The only remaining group of critics are those who argue that the civil rights of workers in Mexico will be violated by the working conditions and low pay of enterprises following the maquiladora model. These critics are met with the logic that low paying jobs are better than none. In addition, the political opposition in Mexico has failed to make the agreement an issue for the government of Salinas de Gotari. Figuring in even a slight bit of corruption in the electoral process, it is unlikely that Salinas, or his party the PRI, will have to fight very hard for its popular support.

What seems equally true is that once the agreement does get signed, its benefits will be concentrated in selected industries already targeted by economists as good risks for development. Thereby the policy will result in net profits in certain sectors of the economy and in certain regions of the country. Two of the examples of industries guaranteed to benefit from free trade most frequently cited are glass production and textiles. Glass production is an industry at which Mexico has excelled and for which it is recognized. Economists believe that a joint venture with U.S. companies would result in developing a high quality product at a low price far exceeding any current U.S. production. This example is important to Mexican economists because it is meant to show how Mexico will benefit by using their own technology and tradition, and the U.S. will benefit because a better product would be produced for a lower price to the consumer. In this case, both the U.S. and Mexico have things to gain and what they might lose, like jobs in the U.S. and autonomy in Mexico, is downplayed. It is cited as an example of the "changing economic relationship" between the countries.

The case of textile production is less illustrious. Many of the existing border companies (maquiladoras) produce textiles. It is acknowledged by both countries that the existing conditions in the maquiladoras need to be changed. However, the logic applied here is that more development opportunities should encourage both the U.S. and Mexico to more closely patrol the violation of existing laws and push forward the implementation of others which would better protect workers. It is supposed that a free trade agreement would increase the standards of worker protection. However, it isn't clear which country would have the responsibility to make this happen. The more cynical of the Mexican economists actually see nothing wrong with expanding the maquiladora model. These people acknowledge the problems with such development but remind you that, from their perspective, there appear to be few alternatives. These strategists do recognize that there will be lopsided development in the country. Only larger industries, most in the U.S. border region or major Mexican urban areas, are most likely to benefit. Other regions and their resources will be untouched and current economic problems will continue to grow.

One of the areas in Mexico unlikely to reap any immediate benefit is the south, particularly the states of Oaxaca and Chiapas. These states have very few resources attractive to large U.S. investors, have been the hotbed of political radicalism, and are home to the largest proportion of indigenous people still living traditionally in Mexico. Subsistence farming and crafts production are two of the major sources of income in these areas. This, also the poorest region of Mexico, therefore, remains untouched by the free trade plan.

People in these areas will have very few choices. Because no money is being funnelled into the area directly, people will be left to either continue their sparse existence, keeping the traditions of their ancestors, or be forced to emigrate to other areas of the country where they might be able to make a living. There is already a high level of emigration from this region to the cities of Mexico and the southwest U.S. Worsening economic conditions, and the existence of a relatively better standard of life in the cities may spell the continued decline of this traditional life.

Many Mexican economists see little value in preserving this way of life. Their view is that traditional living and its cultural products have been romanticized and glorified beyond their value. They assure you that those living in the area would readily give up their backstrap looms for a television set. But surely there is something in between a romantic version of peasant life in the highlands, and assuming that people who have lived on the same land for generations would jump at the first chance to leave it. One of the things that is lost in the massive migration to urban areas is the cultural traditions of the population. Much of this is reflected in the production of arts and crafts.

Already there are fewer people in these areas learning the traditional skills. In fact, in some areas there are more foreigners learning how to weave than members of the villages. Folk art, by definition, is tied in material and tradition to the lifestyles of its creators. While the actual craft can be produced away from the village, the meaning of the art pieces are different because they are not produced in the context from which they come. Obviously, just because someone is born in a village known for its embroidery s/he shouldn't have to follow that tradition and become a master embroiderer. But, s/he should have the opportunity to do so, without making the choice to live a substantially impoverished life.

Urban Mexican economists do not fear the extinction of tradition; they support its inevitable transformation by the strictures of the global economy. An urbanized, industrial existence will never reflect the type of traditional life from which these crafts were born, one in which every aspect of life, work, and art are entwined. The modernization that has overtaken the urban areas of Mexico has effectively obliterated parts of the national culture. Again, without romanticizing tradition, it is hardly a reactionary or patronizing position to take by saying that the cultural artifacts of any country should be left to develop and change at the hands of their own people. Unfortunately, unless some thought is given to this, the culture will surely change in the image of the worldwide beam of the cable television channels that bring the world closer, but at the same time equate a better life with the CNN/MTV culture of the U.S.

A development policy that focuses entirely on urban industrialization and resource exploitation does not seem to be very well thought out. In postindustrial societies like the U.S., the effect of this type of policy is obvious. The rural culture has all but disappeared, the population concentrated in the urban areas. The difference in Mexico is the vast population with which the country must contend. Although there is some decrease in rates of population growth, a strategy that brings more people to urban areas will only increase the human and ecological problems that are already so evident in this country. Anticipating this criticism, the economists say that their strategy is to decentralize the urbanization to various regions around the country. Therefore, instead of having a highly problematic rate of migration to Mexico City, the industrialization will be diffused to several other urban areas. Instead of one huge city with all its problems, they are planning 10 such cities. This does not make the problem go away, only provides more chances for its mutation.

Faced with what seem to be major economic development problems, it is odd that these planners have not explored other ways to filter some of the newfound international capital into more areas of the country. In the south, for example, most of the ways that capital might be used are ignored. The establishment of collectively owned farms or grazing plots, for the purpose of sharing resources and increasing production is exactly the opposite of the current governmental policy. Similar techniques for organizing and developing crafts production are never discussed. Attending to the type of resources and practices of the peoples in these areas is not the starting point for the economic policies that are currently being pursued.

Needless to say, the economists aren't really worried about this powerless segment of the population. The free trade agreement is being touted as Mexico's great economic opportunity. When questioned about whether the trade agreement will really filter down to the population Salinas de Gotari always cites his "points of light" Solidarity program. But from ever report, this program is more hype than reality. When really pressed, the more astute Mexican economists admit the problems such an agreement is likely to produce. However, they are banking on the idea that Mexico can gain enough economic advantages at the macro level from entering into the free trade agreement, in terms of technology and investment capital, that they can turn these advantages into a form of exploitation of their own. Some Mexicans hope that this will allow them to become economic leaders in their subregion. Thus, they would have a say in controlling whatever development goes on in the "Central American common market." The exploitation that is done to Mexico by the U.S. will serve as the economic springboard for their own exploitation of the resources and markets in Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and other countries in worse shape than they. This may in fact be the only way this free market economics will trickle down.

Highlighted in Guatemala

In many respects, the conditions in areas of Chiapas and Oaxaca, Mexico are very similar to those in Guatemala. The major economic activity in the highlands and rural areas of Guatemala depends more on underground sources than the formal system. At least in the countries of Central America, there is more recognition of and willingness to confront the underground nature of the economy in which most of the population exists. Because even Guatemala City is not a mecca of modernization like Mexico City or other urban and U.S. influenced places, different strategies of development become important. Tourism is the second largest source of foreign capital and its related money making activities, such as the production of folk art, have been specifically targeted as a indigenous resource that can be exploited for trade and profit. For example, Lee McClenny of the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala works through an organization called the Instituto Guatemalteco Americano which is beginning to develop a program exploring the acquisition and marketing of indigenous arts and crafts.

Guatemala, too, faces the possibility of being irreversibly changed by industrialization. However, because of its relative lack of existing facilities, the population faces a different, but equally consequential, phase of development right now. The type of economic development that the U.S. is eagerly seeking to help implement in Mexico is a long way off in the future of Guatemala. This is not to say that there are no resources that are desirable, but not when a cost benefit analysis of their current development is considered.

Guatemala is a potential market for goods produced in countries like Mexico. However, since the internal economy of the country is so bad, it will be a long while before the population is in the position of being a consumer market. The source of the poor economy in country in Guatemala is typical of most Central American countries--an essentially rural population living off of subsistence farming in a country that has been in constant civil war for at least a decade. Given these conditions, the likelihood of any major international capital investment is slim. However, if the U.S. and Mexico want to have a strong presence in the area, they are going to have to have some economic influence. Some may argue that the U.S. need only exert its influence through aid and its continuing military presence. These strategies surely are effective and continue to be employed. However, if the U.S. and Mexico want to assure a competitive economic sphere vis a vis other parts of the world, the strong-arm tactics might not be cost effective nor publicly popular. The existing resistance to doing business with military dictators in Central America is minimal in the U.S. from some viewpoints. Domestic criticism about this area has been a continuing theme for the last decade, however, and will undoubtedly become more important as the current migrant populations from these countries in the U.S. continue to grow. Even a minor resistance within the hemispheric group might undermine its image to the rest of the world.

Rather, a "kinder and gentler" approach to exploitation seems the current strategy. Our ostensible efforts to consult with Guatemala and other Central American countries on issues of the environment and human rights abuses gives us some cultural currency. When we say we care we justify a strong presence in these countries, even if we turn our head to abuses when they occur. In short, the U.S. is positioning itself to be viewed as good guys, the benevolent protectors, the updated Marshall Planners of the region.

One way to gain such attention and a foothold in Guatemala is by controlling the development of tourism and the rationalization of the underground economy. The special embassy arm mentioned above is dedicated to "preserving" the culture of the indigenous peoples. Preservation takes the form of trying to find ways to help people more quickly produce and then sell their goods in the tourist markets or to exporters who will take them abroad. A more paranoid analysis might question such involvement and wonder about its military intelligence potential -- i.e., that since the crafts come from the highlands, and the rebels come from the highlands, having individuals monitoring and working with crafts people also gives them the opportunity to monitor the guerillas. However, since this idea borders on conspiracy theory, the more obvious gains are those mentioned before.

The problem with economic involvement in the underground economy, particularly the area of arts production, is the model of development most typically used by U.S. or U.S. backed advisors. Many of the suggestions made have the ultimate result of taking the control of production away from the artisan and introducing a series of foreign midwives in the economic delivery of these cultural goods. True, there are real efforts to preserve the cultural artifacts and to catalogue their development. The Ixchel Museo is a good example. But, when it come to marketing the goods to enhance the profits of the individual artisan, the models used are exploitative. For example, the licensing of importers is relatively easy and the amount of goods which can be procured under export limits is very large. While no one will argue that an export connection is necessary and desirable, it is the discrepancy of profit made by the producer verses that made by the exporter that is questionable.

Another example is the way that subsidiary agencies of the U.S., like the Peace Corp are initiating cultural change. In a small village, the peasant women are being taught by the PC workers to attach their traditional woven and embroidered designs to knitted sweaters. Knitting isn't a traditional skill for these women. However, the advantages are that more goods can be produced, and they are more likely to be goods that are desirable to tourist populations.

Along with the question of profit distribution, these insidious changes are potentially harmful. While the innovations introduced allow craftspersons to produce more goods that are appealing to the tourists, the cost is a change in both the meaning and the context of the craft production. As it is now, it is clear that those who sell their goods in the major tourists markets in Guatemala make special concessions to the tastes of their consumers. It is still possible, however, to find goods that are produced mainly for consumption by individuals in the villages, and those that retain their meanings in the Catholic/Mayan form of village religious worship. Producing more goods for tourist sale might mean that fewer of these traditional goods are made. In fact, even when the traditional goods are made, they may bare the indelible mark of the influence of the changes in production made to accommodate the tourist demand.

In Guatemala, it is the retention of the traditional life and costume that distinguishes someone as indigenous instead of a "ladino." One attitude expressed by some economists is that the peoples of Guatemala must hasten their transition into a ladino lifestyle in order to truly flourish economically. However, this wish ignores the possibility of cultural hegemony a total change would engender. In Mexico, and more obviously in the U.S., this lack of regard for real cultural preservation has resulted in many lost cultures. In contrast, if we assume that cultural resources are as important to develop and preserve as are natural resources, we must pay more careful attention to their development in places like Guatemala where there is still a chance for a more reasonable compromise. Cultural resources are the soul of a nation and its population. To ignore them (as is done in Mexico) or to unthoughtfully exploit them (as seems to be the plan in Guatemala) is to sacrifice part of what makes each nation unique.

The main conclusion of this speculative analysis is that economic changes in the region, as they are currently being planned, have every likelihood of hurting or underdeveloping most of the population. The concrete example with which I deal here, the effect on artisans producing in the underground economy, is slightly more positive in the short run. It is clear that artisans will continue to make money. However, unless the crafts are more lucratively marketed for the profit of the artisan, the inducement to continue these skills is decreased, perhaps to the point of extinction. This seems to be the problem in Mexico. On the other hand, if the craft production is targeted without thought for the cultural consequences of imposing marketing patterns that are successful in the U.S., the skills in their non-alienated and autonomous forms may also become extinct. Either way, the artists and the countries lose out.

It is unfortunate, although not surprising, that this sort of analysis, or at least one which deals with some of these possibilities, is not a part of the development planning process. It isn't surprising because international development planners are usually locked into macro economic versions of reality. The micro economic and human factors of analysis are usually treated as extraneous or unknown quantities. Many of such factors are, but some, as I have tried to argue, are quite relevant to development in these areas at this point in history.

There are alternatives which might provide a way for artisans to produce and sell their goods in foreign, export markets, yet retain their traditional skills and themes. Cooperative organization of exporting, which would direct profits back to the producers, would be very simple to establish. Teaching villagers skills at making the arrangements and travelling to the U.S. would take time away from their craft production, but if such activities were rotated they would assure the retention of control over the profits of their sales. The development of collective work groups, which might share profits, is another possibility. Within each group both traditional and mass consumptive articles could be produced. Then, the tourist products would assure a steady income for the participants, but time would remain to practice and develop the art.

Given the existing hostilities to any type of organization that suggests collective organization, it is hard to see either of the above alternatives supported by the government. However, my final suggestion about how this might be handled, would appear to be more in line with existing sentiments. In several parts of the world, including Central American, the idea of community banks has been successfully used. The basic idea is that money is available for loan to producers in the underground economy for very low or no interest. The small loans are meant to carry individuals through unanticipated expenses or buy them new equipment or resources when needed. Sometimes this money is also available to start new enterprises at a very micro level. It is clear that such a program can be very beneficial for individuals and families. Because it is directed at self-sufficiency and initiative, it is acceptable in the ideological framework of the free market. It isn't hard to envision these banks loaning slightly more money to small groups of individuals in order to help them market their art. The ostensible reason for such a program would have to be defined as an attempt to show the craft producers something about marketing. It seems less important how the program would be cast, than that resources might become available.

Conclusion

Until the free trade agreement between Mexico and the U.S. is signed, and until the policies of free market economics become more entrenched in Guatemala, it is impossible to predict whether this analysis has any merit. However, based on the prognostications of the economists we spoke with during the Fulbright-Hays travel trip, previous analyses of economic development, and information about the effect of economic change on art and craft production, these are outcomes that merit some consideration. For those of us interested in preserving an historical and artistic record of living peoples, adding this information into any choice about further development in the area is not a luxury.

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* Since I have chosen to call this analysis speculative, I want to stress that it is based on my personal reading of the conditions and their meaning. I have consulted outside sources in the preparation of this document and now cite them. However, I preferred to make this different from an academic paper; I have used the sources to argue a perspective, with no claims at doing "objective" social science. Thus, my interpretation of these sources, especially the information we received in the talks in Mexico and Guatemala, does not take them at face value. I prefer to try to incorporate my interpretation of the ideological perspective from which they were given

or written. This makes this paper more useful as a piece of journalism, than as a piece of science.

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Government Buildings as Symbols of National Unity: Comparison of the Historic Capitols of the United States and Five Latin American nations.

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Countries normally have one national capital, although in several the legislative, judicial and executive functions may be found in different cities. Within most national capitals there usually is one building, or a complex within a specified area, that is designated the capitol. Among the more famous are the national capitol of the United States, the British Parliament, and the Soviet Union's Kremlin. The latter, rather than one building, is a complex of buildings within a walled area. The three mentioned, as well as several others, are instantly recognizable by hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. Capitols have been used as powerful symbols of nationalism, instilling patriotic pride as well as unifying a nation's population. This study examines the national capitol building of the United States, and the historically most important national government buildings of five Latin American nations to ascertain their symbolic importance in national unity.

The study was an outgrowth of a six-week Fulbright-Hays Seminar Abroad during the summer of 1991. The seminar group visited the capitals of Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Guatemala. The demands of the formal aspects of the seminar prevented a comprehensive study of governmental architecture, and its symbolic importance. Nonetheless, there was sufficient time to visit the historically most important public buildings in each capital, and question people about them. Admittedly, the following observations constitute impressions and are highly subjective. Nevertheless, since the author is a cultural geographer who has published research on historical buildings, the impressions are based on a scholarly foundation, and hopefully are valid.

The United States No building in the United States reflects the national government's presence more than that nation's Greek Revival capitol in Washington, D.C. It is instantly recognizable to most Americans, as well as hundreds of millions from elsewhere in the world. The building is such a powerful symbol of nationalism that it frequently appears in textbooks at all levels of instruction, as well as patriotic posters, films, etc. The architectural style of the capitol of the United States influenced the design of hundreds of Federal courthouses throughout the nation, as well as numerous other Federal buildings. In addition, the domed Greek Revival structure came to be the dominant architectural style for state capitols and country seats in all parts of the nation. The capitol of the United States has served as a model for several Latin American capitols, notably those of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

The design of the capitol in Washington, and the layout of the entire city may be attributed to Thomas Jefferson, the nation's third president. Jefferson, who had earlier represented his government in France, was deeply influenced by that nation's newly established republican government. The Greek and Roman origins of these republican principals was much discussed in France, and was well known to Jefferson. Coincident to the growth in French interest in Greek and Roman society, through archeological work in the Mediterranean, knowledge of the architecture of classical Greece and Rome was then being greatly expanded. As knowledge of these ancient buildings began to grow, many who were inspired by democracy wished to give these principals material expression through constructing buildings using classical Greek design.

Jefferson believed that the United States was the spiritual successor of ancient Greece, and enthusiastically encouraged the use of the Greek Revival architectural style for the government buildings of his young nation. He felt that a link could be forged between architectural form and republican values, thus contributing to the establishment of a national identity. He was eminently successful in impressing his architectural vision on the nation. During the nineteenth century, a period of rapid population and territorial growth in the United States, Greek Revival prevailed as the most popular governmental architectural style in all regions of the nation.

Greek Revival government office buildings may be seen in the five Latin American capitals visited, but they constitute a far lower share of the total inventory of public buildings than in Washington, D.C. This is not from a lack of republican ideals at the time these nations fought their wars of independence against Spain. Upon independence all, at least in form, if not in spirit, subscribed to democratic principals. Perhaps the most important reason for the failure of these countries to impose Greek Revival, or another style of governmental architecture was that the capitals of the five Latin American countries visited had previously been centers of colonial administration. Unlike Washington, D.C., a planned city that emerged from farmland as the capital of the United States, these Latin American capitals had colonial government buildings that continued to be used for the same purpose after independence. Latin American public buildings were mainly Spanish Renaissance in style, what today is known as baroque. The need to build new public buildings in Latin American capitals during the nineteenth century was also reduced in many places by the state taking over Catholic Church property. Construction was also frequently inhibited by the general poverty of Latin American governments.

Unlike the United States capitol, the historically significant government buildings of the five Latin American capitals seldom appear in printed form as symbols of nationalism. There are several reasons for this. In part it might be the result of differences in the culture between Latin America and Anglo America. More importantly, it is the consequence of poverty. High illiteracy means that nationalism is hard to inculcate in the population. The lack of symbolic power of public buildings compared to that of the United States also may be attributed to the nature of Latin American governments. Government administration within the nations visited has historically been identified as authoritarian, not democratic. Actually, many government buildings were built with forced labor. Under such oppressive conditions patriotism is an emotion difficult to stimulate using any symbol, material or intangible. In the last half of the twentieth century, as they have grown in size and power, Latin America nations have built new buildings to house major government functions. For example, in all the countries visited by the author, the national legislature had moved to new quarters. Usually these were office blocks, built in the modern architectural styles, indistinguishable from many others used to house commercial functions. In the case of Brazil and Belize, their capitals have been moved in their entirety to other parts of the nation, and there is a movement in Argentina to do likewise. The removal of important government functions from older buildings diminishes their contemporary significance, and might serve to decrease their historical importance as well.

Throughout the nineteenth century those few public buildings constructed in Latin American capitals were in the traditional Spanish styles. By the end of the century, however, there developed a desire to house the major functions of the government in more impressive buildings. At that time Greek Revival began to play a major role in public architecture. In the nations the author visited, the national palaces of Nicaragua and El Salvador were built in the Greek Revival style, and in its interior there are traces of this style in that of Guatemala. The palaces of Mexico and Honduras were built in the eighteenth century, and lack any Greek Revival influence.

Mexico The National Palace in Mexico City, on the Zócalo, occupies an entire city block, and is an excellent example of early colonial architecture. Severe in style, it lacks the ornamentation of later colonial buildings. To a high degree its beauty is dependent upon the materials used in construction. Begun in 1692 on the site of Montezuma's palace, and later that of one of Cortes's homes, it is faced with lava rock that varies in color from pale rose to maroon. Doorways and windows are generally trimmed in white stone. Approached from the opposite side of the Zócalo, which is an enormous open area that formerly was the center of the Aztec city of Tenóchtitlan, its mass is very impressive. To enhance the symbolic importance of the palace, the government has placed a pole in the center of the Zócalo, from which a huge Mexican flag is flown.

As Mexico has grown in population and economic power, administrative functions have begun to abandon the building. Today it houses the Office of the President, and Ministry of Finance. Despite the erosion of its governmental importance, it and the Zócalo are powerful images in the Mexican mind. The palace contains some important murals of Diego Rivera, Mexico's world famous muralist. These murals, depicting the history of the nation from the preColumbian period, often in the most brutally graphic manner, have become icons of nationalism for the Mexican people.

Within the National Palace is Mexico's Liberty Bell, brought from the town of Dolores, Guanajuato in 1896 by the then president, Porfirio Díaz. It was in Dolores, on September 16, 1810, that Father Miguel Hidalgo, after tolling the bell, made his famous *grito* (cry) for Mexico's independence from Spain. Each year since 1896, at 11PM on the 15th of September, in the national capital as well as in capitals of the states and in many cities, high government officials repeat the *grito* as an affirmation of the revolution. This tradition began in 1896, and in Mexico City it is customary for the president to step out on the central balcony of the National Palace and repeat the *grito* (Viva la Independencia. Vivan los héroes) to the crowd assembled below. The Zócalo is also the nation's most important venue for parades, including that of the military on September 16th, a sports parade on the 20th of November, Flag Day on the 24th of February, and May Day on May 1st. It also is the focus of many political manifestations.

El Salvador The greenish stone National Palace of El Salvador, situated in the center of that nation's capital city of San Salvador, is on the west side of Parque Barrios. On the north side of this park is the Metropolitan Cathedral. Greek Revival in design, the palace was built in the first decade of the twentieth century to replace a previous one destroyed by fire in 1889. The palace is two stories in height. The four porticos each have six fluted columns with Corinthian capitals supporting unarched pediments. In the neoclassical style, windows on the second floor also are unarched, but the architect chose to employ Federal style arches above the first floor windows. The arched window was not used in ancient Greece. Although today somewhat neglected, the interior courtyard of this structure still gives evidence of its former beauty. Nearby are other public buildings, including the Post Office, and Treasury.

The earthquake of October 10, 1986 forced the abandonment of the National Palace, and other nearby government office buildings. The National Palace was quickly restored, and the building once again is in use. The legislative function of the government, however, had been removed to more modern premises outside the business district. In July, 1991 the walls of the National Palace were heavily inscribed with revolutionary slogans, some appear to have been there for a long time. The earthquake damaged Metropolitan Cathedral nearby had not been rehabilitated, nor had several other major buildings near the park. The shells of these buildings and others around Parque Barrios, despite the presence of the functioning National Palace, contribute to an ambience of dereliction. This assuredly reduces the impact of the palace as a symbol of national pride. In addition, El Salvador's long civil war diminishes the possibility of any building contributing to national unity.

Honduras Honduras, the poorest of the five Latin American nations visited, and among the poorest in Latin America, has never had the ability to build government buildings in a truly monumental manner. Nonetheless, its capital has numerous public buildings providing office space for that nation's civil servants. In 1990 it completed a large Postmodern office complex on the edge of the central business district that houses its Ministry of Foreign Relations.

Unlike the other four nations visited, there is not a clear choice of a building that could have become the focus of national unity. Instead, if asked, many citizens would elect Parque Morazán (Parque Central) with its colonial cathedral and statue of Francisco

Morazán, the nation's most distinguished leader, and the hero of the failed early nineteenth century attempt to form a Central American federation. Two government buildings, however, have sufficient character to be candidates for symbols of national unity. The first is the small, moorish, Presidential Palace. Built in 1919, it has recently been rehabilitated. The author's choice is the Ministerial Palace, a Spanish renaissance two-storied white stone building with a red tile roof. Originally the Ministerial Palace had been the Convent of San Sebastian, but in 1934 it was remodeled for civil government use. It has a central patio, today largely neglected. Most of the Ministerial Palace's governmental functions have been dispersed to newer buildings throughout the city. At this time its primary use is to house the city's main post office. Numerous telephone lines connect it with poles along the street, detracting from what limited architectural charm it may have. A sign has been placed above one of its entrances designating it as the National Palace, although few know it by that name.

Nicaragua Nicaragua, today still suffering from the division created by the war between the Contras and Sandinistas, has few government buildings that can contribute to a national unity. The lack of government buildings that could be used as symbols of unity was enhanced by the December, 1972 earthquake that destroyed the entire center of the capital city of Managua. Following that earthquake few buildings, either private or public, were left standing. Since then there has been little rebuilding, and an area approximately one-half mile square today is mainly covered in grass. In July, 1991 an ambitious and costly plan was announced to rebuild Managua's center, contingent on international loans.

The National Palace was the only government building in downtown Managua not destroyed by the 1972 earthquake. It continues to function today as an office building, although its governmental functions are much reduced from the past. Most ministries have been moved to a modern tower approximately one-half mile to the south. Greek Revival in style, the main facade of the National Palace, has an impressive portico, the seal of Nicaragua embossed on the gable. The main facade includes twenty fluted Doric columns.

The palace today has an unobstructed view of nearby Lake Managua, whereas before the 1972 earthquake it was situated in a densely settled portion of the downtown. Nearby is the roofless shell of the Metropolitan Cathedral. In the nearby grassy fields, part of which is the almost indistinguishable Parque Rubén Darío, there are several abandoned buildings and Sandinista monuments. One is the grave of Carlos Fonseca, a founder of the Sandinista front who was killed in 1976. Another is a tall statue of a man, machine gun raised. A quotation from César Sandino is inscribed on the pedestal that reads "Only the workers and peasants will go to the end" (English translation).

The National Palace has particular symbolic importance to the Sandinista political party. In August, 1978 it was attacked by a group of Sandinista guerrillas while the nation's legislature was in session. Approximately 1500 people were taken hostage. The guerrillas demanded the release of 83 political prisoners, a ransom of 10 million dollars, and the publication of a series of communiques in the government's newspaper. After a two-day siege the government yielded, releasing the prisoners, paying a $500,000 ransom, publishing the Sandinista communiques, and permitting the guerrillas to be flown to Panama and Venezuela. Given this Sandinista triumph it was logical that after the party's victory over the government the National Palace would be accorded great importance. Renamed the Palace of the Heroes of the Revolution, during the Sandinista period the building often was draped in red banners. The plaza in front of it became the site of mass rallies in support of the Sandinista revolution.

Following the 1989 electoral defeat of the Sandinista Party the building once more is known as the National Palace. No longer are red banners hung from it, although in July, 1991 there remained two large portraits placed on the sides of the main entrance during the Sandinista period remain. One is of Sandino, the other of Fonseca. At that time the interior of the building showed advanced signs of exhaustion. Plumbing and wiring were in poor repair, and walls badly needed paint. Whereas once the interior patio garden had been well cared for, it was then a weedy patch. Street vendors had invaded the premises. A large, but poorly conceived and executed Sandinista revolutionary mural still remained on one wall.

Guatemala No Central American nation has a more imposing National Palace than that of Guatemala. Furthermore, although the governmental functions of the national palaces of Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador today are much diminished from the past, or are non-existent, Guatemala's national palace continues to be that nation's most important government office. The building was constructed between 1939 and 1943, during the dictatorship of General Jorge Ubico, and it closely reflect his tastes. Elements of Spanish colonial and moorish architectural styles were used in the design, and in the interior their are Greek Revival elements. The building itself is faced in green stone. The National Palace is on the north side of the Parque Central, a large park which includes a fountain and bandshell. To its east is the city's Cathedral. The building was constructed of sufficient strength that it sustained little damage in the 1976 earthquake. The cathedral and several modern office buildings nearby, however, suffered severely.

The two main entrances are off the park, both entering on to grand staircases. At the top of each staircase is the coat of arms of colonial Guatemala rendered in glazed tile. On the walls of both stairs murals have been painted. One group of murals illustrates Guatemala's history from Mayan times through the modern period. The other group depicts Guatemala's two languages, Mayan and Spanish. Mayan is visualized through use of the Popol-Vu and Spanish with Cervantes' Don Quixote. Both sets of murals are highly romanticized interpretations of Guatemalan history and culture. Handsome Spaniards defeat brave and well mannered Indians in fair battle. Modern Guatemala is envisioned as a harmonious blend of Mayan and Spanish culture. The state reception and banquet rooms are furnished to impress the visitor, decorations being both expensive and lavish. Formerly the palace had a number of stained-glass windows, but many were destroyed in a car bomb blast.

In a summary of the use of government buildings as symbols of national unity, it must be said that in no Latin American country visited was their a building that had the symbolic potency to its citizens as that of the United States capitol to Americans. The Mexican and Guatemalan national palaces today appear to make a substantial contribution to national unity of these nations, and during the Sandinista period in Nicaragua considerable effort was made to convert that nation's palace into an effective symbol. Following the party's electoral defeat, efforts seem to have diminished. El Salvador's national palace, and that of Honduras appear to have virtually no symbolic importance.

Perhaps the relative failure of the Latin American nations visited to generate unity and patriotism from their government buildings arises from the inability or unwillingness of their governments to truly represent the interests of the majority of their citizens. In all five a high percentage of the population live in poverty, with little opportunity for education. Most citizens only have a vague idea of their nation's history, even that patriotic, but not necessarily true history which the central government wishes to convey. Under these conditions it is difficult to imagine how a sense of pride and a feeling of national unity could flourish employing any symbol, material or spiritual.

FULBIRGHT-HAYS SUMMER SEMINAR
CURRICULUM PROJECT

LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMICS
TWENTIETH CENTURY AND BEYOND

CONNIE S. WOOD
RUFUS KING HIGH SCHOOL
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

SCOPE AND SEQUENCE:

This unit has been designed to be included in the International Baccalaureate history course, History of the Americas. Specifically, the unit will meet the needs of prescribed topic 3 which is Economic Developments in the Twentieth Century. The description of this topic includes the following: "The changing character of economic patterns in the 20th century has had distinctive and fundamental political and social effects which would be studied in an historical perspective."

The unit includes goals and objectives, a course outline, a series of study questions to guide student inquiry and study, a pre/post test to evaluate some of the terms and phrases taught in the unit and a bibliography of materials to be used for the unit.

GOAL:

The student will understand the nature of third world (Latin America specifically) economics in the latter part of the twentieth century and be prepared to examine, as well as, develop additional proposed solutions for the economic problems in the twenty first century.

OBJECTIVES:

1) Student will be able to explain the basic nature of the single crop or dependency economies of the Latin American nations.

2) Student will be able to explain the development of the debt crisis of the 1980's.

3) Student will be able to identify and explain the nature of International Financial Institutions.

4) Student will be able to identify the role of multi-national or trans-national corporations in Latin American economies.

5) Student will be able to explain the basic provisions of the proposed Free Trade agreement with Mexico and be able to compare it with the Free Trade Agreement the United States has with Canada.

6) Student will be able to explain and evaluate the implications of the proposed Free Trade Agreement.

7) Student will be able to discuss and evaluate additional solutions to Latin American economic problems.

8) Student will be able to propose additional solutions to Latin American economic problems.

UNIT OUTLINE

I. Background to Latin American Economic Problems
    A. Dependency Theory
    B. Inflation of the 1980's
    C. Debt Crisis
        1. Causes of the crisis
        2. International response to debt crisis
            a. IMF and World Bank
            b. Brady Plan
            c. Caribbean Initiative

II. Role of the state in Latin American economies
    A. State regulation
    B. State provision of goods and services
    C. State monoploies
    D. "Privatization"

III. Role of multi-national and trans-national corporations in Latin American economies

IV. Proposed U.S.-Mexican Free Trade Agreement
    A. General provisions
    B. Goals
    C. Questions
        a. Health
        b. Safety
        c. Labor
        d. Environmental
    D. Comparison with U.S.-Canadian Free Trade Agreement

V. Proposed solutions to Latin American economic problems
    A. Maquiladoras
    B. Non-traditional exports
    C. Repatriation of flight capital
    D. Improved efficiency of existing enterprises
    E. Micro-enterprise lending
    F. Loan/Environmental trade-offs

VI. Factors to be used in evaluting proposed solutions
    A. Demographics
    B. Infrastructure
    C. Education
    D. Global competition

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What is the dependency theory?

2. What has been the role of the state in Latin American economies and why have their been changes in the last five years?

3. What were/are the causes of the debt crisis in Latin American nations?

4. What has been the role of the IMF and the World Bank in Latin American economic activities?

5. What is the Brady Plan?

6. What is the role of multi-national and trans-national corporations in the economic plans of Latin American nations ?

7. What is a maquilladora?

8. What is the goal of the Free Trade Agreement?

9. Will the Free Trade Agreement make North America more competitive in the global market?

10. How can labor, health, safety and environmental standards be preserved or upgraded in the countries agreeing to the Free Trade Agreement?

11. Who will pay for the above?

12. How does a society with limited wealth go into a post industrial economy?

13. What is meant by non traditional export items?

14. What is micro-enterprise lending?

15. What is "green imperialism?"

PRE/POST TEST

_____1. The major portion of money in the economies of Latin America comes from (A) drugs (B) a single crop such as banannas, coffee or sugar (C) loans from first world countries (D) they do not produce goods for sale outside the country

_____2. Almost all Latin American nations have suffered a debt crisis during the 1980's. The major cause of this has been (A) drought (B) civil wars (C) inflation (D) poor market conditions

_____3. The plan suggested by the United States to assist the Latin American nations in dealing with their debt crisis is called (A) the Bush Plan (B) The Brady Plan (C) The Baker Plan (D) Reagan Plan

_____4. Generally the role of the government in the economies of Latin America in the period up to 1988 was characterized by (A) a laissez faire attitude (B) some regulation in key areas (C) a strong protectionist attitude (D) a communist attitude

_____5. The term "privatization" is used to indicate (A) return of public business to individuals or corporations (B) the taking over of public business by dictators (C) the creation of new businesses to replace old public businesses (D) none of these

_____6. The United States is currently discussing a free trade agreement with which of the following nations? (A) Guatemala (B) Colombia (C) Canada (D) Mexico

_____7. The term multi-national or trans-national corporation would apply to (A) any corporation with offices or plants in one or more countries (B) any corporation which is owned by two or more nations (C) a corporation with markets in several nations (D) none of these

_____8. A Maquiladora is (A) a term used in the international stock market world (B) a worker in a Latin American coffee plantation (C) a factory which recieves goods from the United States for further processing (D) the proposal to aid third world companies in reducing third world debt

_____9. Which of the following is a suggested solution to Latin American economic problems? (A) non-traditional exports (B) micro-enterprise lending (C) repatriation of flight capital (D) all of these

_____10. The term "green imperialism" has been used to describe which of the following? (A) attempts to get loans by third world countries from first world countries (B) use of environmental causes to solve debt crisis problems (C) attempts by first world countries to solve environmental problems in third world countries (D) attempts by Latin American nations to exploit nations in the region

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PERSONAL NOTES

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